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SPEECHES
BY
EARL WAVELL.

From 26th October 1943 to 21st March 1947.



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HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO THE FIRST
MEETING OF THE HEALTH SURVEY AND DEVELOPMENT
COMMITTEE HELD IN NEW DELHI ON THE 26TH OCTOBER
1943.

I very much regret that it is impossible for me to be present to address you at your first meeting and personally to wish you success in your important task.

In the most highly organised countries of the world a large-scale system of social services guards the health of the community. The Maternity and Child Welfare Service, the school clinic, and the sickness insurance plan—all backed by well-equipped hospitals and highly qualified medical men—prevent and cure disease in the individual. Through local authorities, and under the various statutes governing work in factories, provision is made for environmental hygiene. There are schemes of slum clearance and rehousing. The supply of water and food are competently supervised, and control is maintained over domestic and industrial wastes. I need not prolong the list; but I must add that behind the Social Services there is, in the advanced countries to which I refer, a powerful network of research organisations.

In India we have traversed only a small part of the road towards National Health. I acknowledge the devoted work done, often in conditions of great difficulty, in this field; nor do I forget the poverty of India—that heavy disability which lies upon all agricultural countries whose populations are large and whose individual holdings of land are small. But I have no doubt that given guidance from a Committee such as this, and a determination to attack the problem, we can do much more than has hitherto been thought possible.

It is not for me to attempt to guide you in your deliberations, but I may perhaps outline some of the questions which have occurred to me during the past two years. In our cities we have slums which are a disgrace to a civilised country. Much has been done by some of the Improvement Trusts—particularly in Calcutta—to remove the worst of the slum dwellings and to introduce light and air. But have we yet faced the gigantic task of rehousing the slum dwellers in such a way and under such supervision that

they will not relapse into their original condition? The financial implications of any rehousing scheme in which the displaced population cannot afford to pay something like an economic rent are very great, and I am aware of all the difficulties. But is it not time for us at least to face the problem and to see what can be done about it? Again, although in some of our cities we have excellent water-supply and sanitary system, in others little has yet been done to produce hygienic conditions. Then there is malaria, the universal scourge, which probably causes more ill-health and inefficiency than any other one factor in the health field. Have we yet made sufficient use of the admirable work of the Malaria Institute? Could insecticides be made from Indian-grown materials on a scale and at a cost which would render their nation-wide use possible? Could not more be done to provide protective materials—such as mosquito netting and mosquito wire—and could not these things be made on a larger scale in India? The average family may be unable to afford them, but their use could undoubtedly be extended. We certainly need more maternity and child welfare centres, more school clinics, and more qualified medical men both for preventive and for curative medicine. What prospects are there of improving the medical and health services in the villages? Can medical men be attracted to the villages as private practitioners? Why is there so much difficulty in establishing an adequate nursing service? Two other points which occur to me are the possibility of improving the production of home-grown drugs, and the need for the development of research organisations in addition to those we already have.

I have stated these questions not because I believe that they cover the whole ground, but because they show how the defects in our present organisation strike a layman who has not in the past been directly connected in his work with the medical and public health administration of the country. Your task will be to cover the ground as adequately as you can, and I have no doubt that in doing so you will not neglect the experience gained and the results achieved in other countries—especially those whose economy is comparable to that of India.

In conclusion I should like to express appreciation of the public spirit which has inspired you at considerable personal self-sacrifice to undertake this heavy task. I shall watch with deep interest the progress of your enquiries and I wish you all success in your labours.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF
WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE NEW DELHI MUNICIPAL
COMMITTEE ON SATURDAY, THE 30TH OCTOBER 1943.

Mr. Bryant, Mrs. Sumer Chand and Gentlemen,—
Her Excellency and I. though by no means strangers to your city, have been entrusted since we left Delhi with new and heavy responsibilities which we had never expected would fall on us, and in these early days we are much heartened by your very friendly welcome. It means more to us than you may realise that we should be able to go forward in the certainty that we have the goodwill and can rely on the co-operation of the citizens of the capital city of India.

I can assure you that Her Excellency and I will take the keenest interest in New Delhi. We are conscious of the very valuable support and encouragement which you received from Lord and Lady Linlithgow and of the signal service rendered by Lord Linlithgow in initiating and executing his anti-malaria scheme. Subject to the limitations imposed by war conditions you will find us no less willing to help, and we are both gratified to find you so anxious to improve essential services such as those of education and medical relief.

You speak of the difficulties you have experienced in maintaining the distribution systems for electricity and water. The Government of India recognise, naturally, the special importance of the services in New Delhi and if the need arises will do all that they can to assist you in obtaining supplies of essential materials.

I can assure you that Her Excellency and I are at one with you in the matter of the removal after the war of temporary buildings. You will recollect that Lord Linlithgow gave you an assurance on behalf of the Government of India.

It is natural that there should be anxiety about the requisitioning of houses and one cannot but sympathise with those whose personal interests have to be subordinated to the necessities of war. The Government of India do not propose, unless new unforeseen commitments arise, to resort to any further extensive requisitioning in consequence of the coming of the South-East Asia Command, though they do find it necessary to take up some of the larger houses for the accommodation of the more senior officers of the Command.

The great expansion of the population of New Delhi has inevitably created difficulties over supply of household commodities including fuel and food but the Government of India, like your local administration, are alive to the dangers and I think you can rest assured that such assistance as you need will be forthcoming.

I am determined to get to know more of Delhi and the surrounding country, and my deep anxiety about Bengal, which I have just visited, and about the other distressed areas of India, will not, I hope, preclude me from interesting myself in more fortunate areas nearer home. On my wife you can always rely, as she proved when I was Commander-in-Chief, to give her time and her active support to good causes. We both thank you most warmly for your address and look forward to further contacts, and to joint endeavours in future.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS
PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AT PESHAWAR ON
27TH NOVEMBER 1948.

Gentlemen,—It gives me a very special pleasure to receive a welcome on behalf of the people of the North-West Frontier Province. Your Province and people have long held an affectionate place in my memory. I served for three years as a young officer in Peshawar nearly 40 years ago, and I have always looked back on those years as some of the pleasantest of my life. I was young and had few responsibilities and cares and my interests were in soldiering and sport. I was in a country of manly people of fine spirit and physique, who also liked sport and soldiering, and whom I liked and admired. So that I have always looked back to those days with special pleasure. Since then I have seen much of your soldiers, both in the last Great War and in this, in which they have served under me with much distinction.

I made one short visit here as Commander-in-Chief more than two years ago. Now I revisit the scene, of which I have happy and carefree memories, as Viceroy with very great responsibilities and cares.

I have admired the steadiness of this Province under the stress of war and the wise leadership of your

distinguished Governor. I thank you for the very substantial contribution you have made in men, money and material towards the prosecution of the war, which is now, after many vicissitudes, beginning to draw to a victorious close.

I watch with great interest the work of your Ministry under provincial autonomy. You appreciate, I am sure, that though your Province is approximately self-sufficient in foodgrains there must be an all-India food policy, and that economy is no less essential where there is a surplus or self-sufficiency than where there is shortage.

I think you may rest assured that the interests of the Frontier Province will not be overlooked in the schemes for post-war development or in recruitment to the Central Services.

I take note of your request that the Subvention to the North-West Frontier Province should be increased. But you will realise there may be serious difficulties over revising the financial arrangements between the Centre and the Provinces.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for the warm welcome you have given me. I wish my wife could have been here to see something of a Province and people of which she has often heard me speak so warmly. I give you my best wishes for the peace and prosperity of your Province and for your health and good fortune.

I am afraid that I have forgotten practically all the Pushtu which your distinguished fellow citizen, Ahmed Jan, taught me nearly 40 years ago; but at least I have always remembered the simplest and best of all greetings: "May you never be tired."

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA, ON MONDAY, THE 20TH DECEMBER 1948.

I thank you for your cordial welcome and good wishes. My wife and I very much regret that we are unable this year to make the visit of some weeks to Calcutta which the Viceroy has usually done at this period. You will, I am sure, appreciate the reasons. Our house has been handed over to the R.A.F. and my many preoccupations make me at present something of a bird of passage outside Delhi.

I should like to begin this my first public speech as Viceroy by acknowledging again the services rendered to me in the Middle East during the early part of the war, not only by Indian troops but by Indian industry, which supplied so many of our pressing needs. I can well remember the spirit of co-operation and helpfulness with which our demands on India were always met. There is no doubt that Indian help saved the Middle East at a critical time and thus laid the foundation for our successes of 1943 in the Mediterranean area.

Indian troops are still contributing to the security of the Middle East, and are playing a distinguished part in the hard fighting which is now taking place in Italy.

It was, as you may imagine, a great regret to me to have to give up my command of the troops in India after just two years in that position. You have in General Auchinleck, who succeeded me, one who enjoys the confidence and esteem not only of the fighting services, but of all sections of the people in India, both British and Indian. Under his command the troops in India will be organised and trained for an even more important task than ever, the final defeat of Japan.

You have had an example here in Bengal of the promptitude and efficiency of the army in the help it has provided to the Civil Government in the food emergency.

We have all suffered a great loss by the death of Sir John Herbert. I know well, and I have no doubt you realise that his determination not to leave his post and to carry on with his work at a time when his health was causing him serious trouble contributed largely to the fatal breakdown, which was also aggravated by his acute anxiety about the troubles of Bengal, which he foresaw some months ago. He was a great gentleman, gallant and upright, whose kindness and friendship I valued highly.

Sir Thomas Rutherford was given a most difficult task by having to take charge of Bengal in such difficult circumstances at very short notice, and you rightly appreciate what he has done in these circumstances.

Progress of the War.

Like Mr. Burder, I propose to confine myself to a few subjects, the most pressing that we have to deal with at the present time.

The prosecution of the war is naturally the most important. The United Nations have had so striking a run of successes during the last year, in Russia, in the Mediterranean, in the Battle of the Atlantic against U-boats, in the air offensive against Germany, and in the counter-offensive against Japan in the south-west Pacific, that we have almost come to feel disappointed and aggrieved if we are not served up with a fresh victory at least once a day.

There is a well-known quotation from Horace, which says *acquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem*—keep your head when in difficulties. His next lines are not perhaps so well-known; *non secus in bonis ab insolenti temperatam laetitia*—refrain from excessive rejoicing when things are going well. We observed the first precept in our bad times, we are possibly in some danger of forgetting the second now that things are running well.

To some of you the progress of the war during the last month or so has probably seemed slow, in comparison with the summer rate; you must remember that we are just passing through the season of the worst weather for operations in Europe; when the ground has not yet frozen hard in Russia and the roads are a quagmire; when winter storms are sweeping Italy and the Mediterranean; and when fog is apt to hinder our bombing offensive against Germany.

The ruling factor in all military operations in transportation, and in such weather the transportation problem becomes more acute than ever. Moreover the swiftness of the Russian advances has increased the difficulties of supply and transportation, while the Germans are nearer their bases.

We have every reason for sober confidence in a victorious outcome of the war in Europe in a not too distant future; but how far distant that future is cannot yet be determined. While the progress of wars depends on transportation, their end depends always on morale. The morale of the German army is certainly still high, but that of the German people must be, to say the least of it, causing Hitler and the Nazi leaders an aching of the head and a sinking of the heart.

But the end of the war in the west is no more than the beginning of the war in the east on a scale required to bring about the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan. The importance of the eastern war not only to the

east but to the whole world and to the future of civilisation still needs to be brought home to some. There can be no security, economic or military, until Japan is as thoroughly defeated as Germany. It is not a matter of recovering lost portions of the British Empire or dividends in oil and rubber, it is the repulse of barbarism by civilisation which is at stake. The peace and happiness of the world depend on a complete and speedy liquidation of Japanese ambitions.

The victories of General MacArthur's forces in the south-west Pacific, the fighting here on the Indian frontier, and the resistance of our Chinese allies, have not only halted the Japanese advance but have already begun to thrust it back. The process will be continued and greatly accelerated. The enemy has tried to gain comfort and to make propaganda from slowness of the allied counter-offensive. All such great efforts are apt to be slow at first but as they gain momentum and resistance is weakened, they sweep forward apace.

I am sure that all India wishes success to the newly-established South-East Asia Command, to its inspiring leader, Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, and to the able commanders and staff, British and American, who are gathering under him.

The establishment of this new Command to control the offensives against Japan from India does not of course in any way lessen India's rôle, in fact it enhances it. India has to be organised as a base for a mightier force of warships, armies and air squadrons than has ever before been gathered in the East. We shall have ships, men and material in plenty. The difficulty will be to find space in our ports, on our airfields, on our railways and in our depôts to accommodate them.

The war effort and preparations we have already made have placed severe strains upon our national economy, and we must take steps to make this stable to support the strains of next year.

The Food Problem.

The food problem must be our first concern. I do not propose to enter here into long consideration of how we reached our present difficulties; our business is not to look back but to look ahead.

Briefly, the main elements in the situation are these. India as a whole is normally almost self-sufficient in the

principal foodgrains. But the majority of Indians are certainly under-nourished rather than over-nourished, so that there is no margin or possibility of tightening the belt in an emergency. Also the production of food in India is not evenly distributed, and the producers are mainly small men farming on a subsistence basis. The position was one which might easily be dislocated by an unexpected shock.

The entry of Japan into the war, and our reverses in Malaya and Burma, which brought the war to the borders of India, provided the shock. Anxiety about the outcome of the war, and the loss of our rice imports from Burma caused the small farmer to hold more of his crop than usual, and the ordinary consumer to buy more than he really needed for immediate consumption. Lack of consumers' goods was a contributory factor to the tendency to hold on to food. In short, the first main cause was a widespread loss of confidence, which was natural enough, and in itself quite innocent.

Unfortunately there are in India, as in other countries, people who are not innocent: who were thinking of advantages for themselves very different from a mere assurance of their daily bread; and who were prepared without scruple to make money out of food scarcity, careless of the misery and death they might cause. There was undoubtedly hoarding and speculation on a large-scale by such people. So that the second main factor was human greed.

The third was the difficulty in overcoming the tendency of each Province, division or district to treat food as a local matter instead of as an all-India problem; in distributing food over vast distances; and in establishing control over prices. This was an immense problem of administration, for which the additional resources required were not easily available. It is small wonder that some mistakes were made in assessing the problem and in devising means to deal with it.

In Bengal, the above main causes were aggravated by the natural disasters of cyclone and floods; by nearness to the war; by the poverty of communications; and by the sparseness of the administration due to the permanent land settlement.

I should like to express my deep sympathy to the people of Bengal on the sorrows that have fallen on so large a portion of a frugal hard-working population. This

disaster has struck those least able to bear it, and the principal sufferers have been the weakest—the children, the women, the old men. It is the duty of us all not only to lessen their present sufferings but to take such steps as will ensure that such suffering does not occur again.

I have tried to outline the main elements which led us to the present position. The main remedies are obvious; to restore general confidence; to deal sternly with those who attempt to withhold food from the people for purposes of undue profit; and to arrange for equitable distribution over India of the available food at a reasonable price.

It is with the last of these aims that I want to deal in a little more detail.

The first thing to get clear is that food is not a provincial problem; it is an all-India, and even a world problem. India must have the food she needs, and the other countries of the British Commonwealth, and the United States, are prepared to help her to import food to supplement her own production. But if by administrative negligence we are compelled to ask for more help from abroad than we really need, we are expecting other countries, whose people are already rationed and whose prices are properly controlled, to deny themselves unnecessarily, and to send us ships which are urgently required for direct war purposes. It is our plain duty to set up an efficient food administration more or less uniform throughout the country. If we fail to do so, we may cause distress in other countries, and prolong the eastern war.

The policy accepted by the Central Government is that recommended by the Foodgrains Policy Committee of last summer. The object is to ensure that foodgrains are available in adequate quantities all over the country at prices which will give the producer a fair, even a generous profit, and at the same time place food within the means of the poorest consumers. We must not aim to depress prices in favour of the town so as to deprive the agriculturist, who is the backbone of India's economy, of a profit which will encourage him to grow the maximum amount of food crop; but he must not be greedy or he will cause distress amongst his less fortunate brethren. The middleman is entitled to no more than a reasonable profit on his work; he cannot be allowed to make a fortune out of the cultivator's labour and the labourer's poverty.

Key points in our plan are full rationing in the larger towns and control of prices, both backed by adequate administrative arrangements. As Mr. Burder has said, you cannot control prices by the mere issue of paper notifications.

I may say here in parenthesis that I hold personal touch a far better solvent for any problem of Government than paper. As a military commander I tried never to issue instructions on paper where I could visit my subordinate commanders and discuss operations with them face to face; and I encouraged my staff to do the same. So far as possible, I hope to follow similar principles in civil administration.

You can control food prices only if every dealer from the village up to the main market and down again to the retail shopkeeper is subject to personal supervision and inspection, if the procurement operations of Government are rationally conducted, and if movements are strictly regulated.

It is said by some that urban rationing is unnecessary and impossible in India. This is nonsense. It is both very necessary and quite possible. In spite of all the difficulties of the past few months, Provinces such as Madras and Bombay, and States such as Travancore and Cochin, have kept the situation under control by rationing and by control of prices. For these Provinces and States, which are in deficit, stern necessity dictated these controls.

In surplus Provinces, the controls are necessary to enable India to be as self-supporting as possible, and to stand the strain both of war and of the immediate post-war period, when the world food situation is likely to be tighter even than now. Sind, the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province have recognised the need, and have patriotically subordinated their provincial interests to the interests of India. Actually, India's interest are their interest, since on this food problem we must stand or fall as a whole.

Measures are being taken to introduce urban rationing all over India, and a system of price control uniform for groups of Provinces. These measures will take a little time. We shall need all the support we can get from public opinion, and from the press. If all people could be induced to realise that war shortages must be evenly distributed, and that those who think only of themselves and their

profits are despicable and unpatriotic we should make a great step forward.

We have a food policy for India as a whole. I am quite clear that we can carry out this policy, to the great benefit of India, if we have, as I am convinced we shall have, the willing co-operation of the Provinces and States. I am prepared, if necessary, to take the most drastic action in support of our policy.

In Bengal, the aid given by the army coupled with a bountiful *aman* harvest, have eased the position perceptibly. But there are no grounds for complacency. We still have to fight lack of confidence and greed, and to see that administrative action is adequate for the future. The army cannot remain indefinitely to do the work of the civil administration. Bengal has the sympathy of the world at present, but this will not continue unless it is obvious that she is making every effort to help herself. The next six months will be the testing time, during which the Bengal Government's policy must be energetically pursued, and its administration strengthened.

You are aware of the main outlines of that policy, which aims at the restoration of confidence, the strict enforcement of the foodgrains control order to prevent speculation and hoarding, and the regulation and control of prices. The solution of Bengal's food problem now lies in Bengal's hands. The Central Government has provided a generous measure of assistance in undertaking to supply food for Calcutta during the next few months. But the Central Government cannot continue indefinitely to "carry" a Province to which nature has vouchsafed so generous a crop, if through administrative inefficiency the Province fails to secure that it is properly procured and distributed.

I am in earnest in this matter. To my mind there can be no condemnation too severe, no penalty too stern, for those who attempt to make unauthorised profits out of food—or out of drugs—at a time of national crisis. Nor can lethargy and procrastination be tolerated; nor must political animosities be allowed to interfere with a fair food deal for everyone.

Measures against inflation.

Mr. Burder has rightly linked inflation with food. The inflationary problem is incapable of solution if food is not

subject to effective control, for food affects the whole price structure of our economy. This battle is everyone's battle. It will profit a man nothing to gain large increments by forcing up prices and thereby causing inflation, since the value of his gains will be thereby reduced, and he may cause untold misery to others. The Central Government is determined to check the inflationary tendency by all means in its power. There is no occasion for undue optimism, but no need to accept Mr. Burder's somewhat pessimistic view. The general price level has been relatively stable for several months now.

An increased supply of consumers' goods at controlled prices is a necessary factor in the fight against inflation. A start was made some months ago with cotton textiles and, owing to excellent co-operation between the industry and the Government of India, considerable success has been achieved. Medicines and drugs have now been taken in hand. There are many other articles of which the Indian consumer is short owing to war demands—such as woollen goods, foot-wear, and iron and steel for the village manufacture of agricultural implements. Of these and other goods every effort is being made to obtain an increased supply, by import or release from war purposes.

Of taxation, which is another method of reducing the waist-line of inflation, I will not speak here. It represents the compulsory absorption of financial adipose deposit. The voluntary method is increased saving, which is much to be recommended. If the Chambers represented at this meeting will advise their constituents to redouble their efforts to support the provincial savings campaigns, and if all other employers in India will do the same, it will be a great assistance.

The Coal Problem.

Shortage of coal is another problem which the Government is taking seriously in hand. Coal is the essential food of industry and of the whole war effort, and we cannot allow either to suffer from starvation or malnutrition in coal.

Coal also is a world problem, and here again we are playing on a world stage. Our coal production may have an appreciable effect on the course of the war. I do not propose here to deal with causes or with the remedies which we have in hand; merely to mention the problem.

Post-war Reconstruction.

I pass on to the longer-term problems of which Mr. Burder spoke, which may be grouped under the heading of post-war reconstruction. This is a very big subject and a very vital one. The years after the war are going to be of immense import to India's future. The problems and dangers are obvious. There will be a period of liquidation of the war effort, during which the fighting services will be demobilised, industry will return to a peace footing, stocks of war material will be for disposal, and the various economic controls will be gradually removed. Unless these processes can be prepared and undertaken in an orderly manner, great confusion, or worse, may result.

Then must come a deliberate effort to restart the national life on a better and more efficient footing, to provide an improved standard of living for all Indians, in which account has to be taken of the rapidly increasing population at a present rate of some four to five millions a year.

In making this restart, India has very great advantages. Her natural resources are large, there will be plenty of labour available; and there will be a higher proportion of trained labour than before. In fact India's supply of labour will be almost inexhaustible, while the events of the war have proved that Indian labour, under training, rapidly acquires a high degree of skill. India has many efficient men of business with wide experience. India will be a creditor country; she has suffered comparatively little in the greatest cataclysm in the history of humanity; and there is a great sympathy and will to help towards her, both in Great Britain and in America. There will be ample markets for her increased production, both at home and abroad in fact there is nothing to prevent India growing to be the strongest and most highly developed nation in the East, if she can solve her internal problems and make a united contribution to peace and prosperity in the post-war world.

The Government has in hand the preparation of plans to take advantage of India's opportunities in as great a measure as possible. In this the Government and industry must work very closely hand in hand. It is quite clear that development must be on an Indian basis and by Indian methods. But it is also evident that India will

require assistance and advice at the first to help her to realise the great possibilities that are hers.

While recently in England I saw some of the leaders of British industry who are interested in India, and I found in them a spirit of most helpful co-operation towards India; there was certainly no desire to dominate or control Indian industry, but a desire to help on a basis of mutual advantage. I am sure that a visit by some of the leading Indian industrialists to the United Kingdom, in order to see the developments that have arisen during the war and to discuss India's problems with leading British representatives would be of the greatest possible advantage and I hope that it may be arranged. The sooner the better; because other nations are already beginning to think about their post-war needs and to place orders for machinery and material.

So far as I have been able to discuss the problem with people of knowledge and experience, it seems to me that one of the first necessities is to develop power schemes throughout India so as to provide the driving force for industries. In some instance it may be possible to combine this with irrigation schemes for agriculture, the improvement of which by all possible means must be our principal aim. Agriculture is India's main industry and is capable of very great development. The land can be made to yield more, the livestock can be improved, and the whole standard of our rural community raised.

The development of industry and the improvement of agriculture must go hand in hand in order to provide for India's growing population and to raise the standard of living. The problem of labour, to which Mr. Burder referred, is naturally linked with these developments. I do not propose to go into any detail here of the relations between labour and industry, but I know you all realise that there is much to be done.

The other great aim of post-war development is the improvement of the social services, of which the principal are education, the health and medical services, and communications. These are mainly unproductive in the short-term sense, though in the long run of course both fully productive and essential. The improvement of communications falls into the sphere both of economic development and social progress; I have here classed it with the latter, since most communications schemes,

especially roads, of which India has such need, are not immediately productive.

I propose to join issue with Mr. Burder, who was inclined to place education in the forefront of his plans. I am the last person to undervalue education, but I think it is clear that from the practical point of view the full realisation of a scheme such as that outlined in the Sargent report must wait on other developments. India at present has simply not the money for such a scheme. As the country acquires increased riches by industrial and agricultural progress, so it can afford to spend larger sums on education and health. This is, I think, the way in which the social services have developed in other countries; certainly it has been so in Great Britain, where industrial development went a long way ahead of educational development and of public health.

From the practical point of view, which is the view by which we must be guided, whatever the theoretical advantages of a different course would be, I think that the main social services must be developed in the following order; communications, health, education. I put communications first since I do not see how it is possible to effect any great improvement in health or education in the villages of India until they can be reached surely and quickly at all times.

What I have said must not of course be taken to suggest that we must not allot as much effort and money as we possibly can to health and education, merely to indicate practical limitations which may be summed up as "full bellies must come before full minds".

In the course of his speech Mr. Burder fired quite a few sniping shots at the Government, and once or twice even brought artillery into action. I have made a note of his shots—particularly those on requisitioning and the administration of the anti-hoarding ordinance—and where they hit the target we will signal a hit and try to repair the hole. The bouquets he bestowed on the Honourable Members for War Transport and Supply will be much appreciated by their recipients. I should like myself to take the opportunity to thank all Hon'ble Members of my Executive Council for their courage and capacity.

I have attempted to review for you the progress of the war and the policy of the Government of India on our immediate economic problems; and to place before you

some ideas on post-war reconstruction. I have said nothing of the constitutional or political problems of India, not because they are not constantly in my mind; not because I have not the fullest sympathy with the aspirations of India towards Self-Government; not because I consider political progress impossible during the course of the war—any more than I believe that the end of the war will by itself provide an immediate solution of the deadlock—but because I do not believe that I can make their solution any easier by talking about them just at present. For the time being I must concentrate on the job of work we have to do. The winning of the war, the organisation of the economic home front, and the preparations for peace call for the use of all the resources India has in determination, energy, and intelligence. I welcome co-operation from anyone and anybody who can assist me in these great problems on which the future of India depends. While I do not believe that political differences can be solved by administrative action, I believe that if we can co-operate now in the achievement of the great administrative aims which should be common to all parties when the country is in peril, we shall do much to produce conditions in which the solution of the political deadlock will be possible. As head of the Government—and an old and sincere friend of India—I will do my best during my term of office to guide India on her path to a better future. It is no easy path, there are no short cuts, but I do believe in the future greatness that lies ahead, if we can work together to the solution of our problems.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS, AT DELHI, ON MONDAY
THE 3RD JANUARY 1944.

President and Gentlemen,—It is a great privilege to have been present today to witness the unique ceremony of a meeting of the Royal Society outside England; to hear the greetings of its President and other eminent Fellows to their Indian colleagues; and to witness the admission of new Fellows to the Society.

It may interest you to know that it is just over 100 years ago since the first representative of Eastern science, an Indian gentleman of great engineering ability, was admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The occasion is also made memorable by the presence of Professor Hill himself, the Secretary of the Royal Society, a Physiologist of international repute, who has come to India to establish a closer touch between scientists in the United Kingdom and in India, with special reference to India's problems of post-war development. Science—knowledge—should mean peace and progress, but in these days of turmoil, even men of science have had to take a hand in the dealing of destruction; and Professor Hill is closely connected with the war effort. That he has been allowed at our request to leave England and come to India at this time is a measure of the importance attached to the improvement of the contacts between scientists in the United Kingdom and India.

Nothing in my career has fitted me to address so distinguished a gathering of scientists. I certainly have no scientific qualifications to do so; though I have an ancestral connection with the Royal Society, as Professor Hill has told you. My great-grandfather and grandfather were both Fellows; and I was lately privileged by the kindness of Professor Hill to see facsimiles of their signatures to the Obligation to which we have just listened. My great-grandfather was, I believe, quite a distinguished scientist who discovered a mineral called Wavellite; I mean he discovered it, and the famous chemist Sir Humphrey Davy called it Wavellite. I was always a little dubious about my grandfather's fellowship; he was a roving soldier of fortune who fought in India, in Spain during the Peninsular War, and for Chile and Mexico in their wars of liberation. He was a man of wide knowledge and experience, but I always wondered how he found time to acquire the deep scientific learning associated today with fellowship of the Royal Society. Professor Hill, when I enquired of him in London whether the records of the Society showed in what particular branch of science my grandfather was so distinguished, broke it to me gently that in those far-off days it sometimes happened that members got their sons elected without any very special scientific qualification, other than a kindly presumption that they had inherited their parent's scientific turn of mind. That expectation might have been fulfilled in my grandfather, who had an enquiring mind, some considerable knowledge of geology, and much literary ability, but I am afraid he transmitted to his sons and grandsons his roving and military genes rather than any scientific ones.

Though I have never regretted that I had a classical education, I have always regretted that I had not at least a good grounding in science; and I have always had a profound admiration for men of science. It is a little curious to mark the attitude of the bulk of ignorant mankind, such as myself, towards men of science. In the earliest days of civilisation, they were revered as magicians and given pride of place and power, as in ancient Egypt. I think they have always continued to hold a high place in the East; but in the West at one period there was great suspicion of the man of science who was classed as a sorcerer, a wizard or a warlock, had to practice in secret, and was liable to be burnt at the stake. Since those dark days the man of science has had a freer hand; and our general complaint against him now might be that he has gone too fast for us; and has poured out inventions quicker than we can assimilate them. A famous English poet wrote nearly 100 years ago that: "Science moves, but slowly, slowly, creeping on from point to point". Had he written now, I feel that his line would have run more like this: "Science shoves on quickly, quickly, bustling us from post to post". There is much to be said for the old leisurely days and the old leisurely ways before the scientist began his assault on space and time. Worse still, his inventions have sometimes got into wrong hands. A domineering bully like the Prussian should never have been entrusted with an aeroplane; nor an ambitious barbarian like the Jap with a battleship.

Still there is nothing more unprofitable than to try to turn back the wheels of time. We cannot trick the imp back into the bottle as did the sailor of the Arabian Nights. We must go on now and must enlist the help of the scientists to control the genii they have raised, and to bring order into this new world for which they are so largely responsible. They have put before us great possibilities to a wider, fuller, healthier, and more prosperous life, if we can use their gifts aright.

India, one of the oldest civilisations, has perhaps felt the impact of modern science later and less than any other great people. A large proportion of her population still lives the old life untouched by the vast changes of this century. Her realm has been of the spirit rather than of the earth. It may be said of the West hereafter that we took too much from India materially and too little spiritually.

But if India is to play the part in the world to which her size, her population, her history and her position entitle

her, she too must make every possible use of scientific advancement. She has already produced many great scientists, she bears many more in her fertile womb. Her contributions to science have always been on the side of peace and progress. She has everything to gain by combining modern science with her old culture, indeed her traditional outlook should enable her to make an increasingly fine and characteristic contribution to natural knowledge. Indian science has made in fact a very remarkable stride forward during the last 25 years, as is shown by the foundation of many new societies, new journals and new departments of science in universities and under Government.

In this war science has played a great rôle in India as elsewhere. It has made a splendid contribution to maintaining the health of the fighting men, through the activities of such bodies as the Malaria Institute, the Indian Research Fund Association, the Nutrition Laboratories at Coonoor, and others. It has also played an important part in munitions production and in solving problems of supply. As an *ex-Commander-in-Chief*, I should like to thank Indian science for the invaluable assistance it has given to the armies in the field.

It must play a great part also in post-war development. The coming years will be vital to India. She must learn to make use of her abundant resources with the aid of science. Science is the most international of all human interests. Professor Hill has himself said in an address elsewhere: "I believe that the pursuit of knowledge for the welfare of mankind is one of the greatest agents for goodwill between men in every land." It is in that belief that he is here today.

This Session of the Indian Science Congress has a momentous task to perform; to discover how best to bring the aid of science to the development of India's great resources in agriculture and industry, to the improvement of health and to social advancement and prosperity. This Science Congress is a body of high repute, with a great and growing membership and influence. Gentlemen, I wish all success to your deliberations. I declare the Congress to be open and ask Professor Bose to give his Presidential address.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT A JOINT SESSION ON 17TH FEBRUARY 1944.

President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—It has been the practice of Viceroys to address the Legislature at the first

opportunity after taking office. Hitherto it has happened that the earliest opportunity has been about six months after the Viceroy's arrival. For myself, as you know, the first opportunity occurred within so short a time that I felt obliged to postpone the occasion. I have now spent some four very busy months in my post; and am prepared to offer you such views and guidance as I can, at this momentous stage of India's history. You need not regard them as final views. I always look forward to making fresh contacts and gaining fresh knowledge. But they indicate certain principles on which action for the progress of India must, I consider, be based.

The last address to you by a Viceroy was at the end of the longest term of office in the history of the appointment. It was not only the longest term but the most exacting. Lord Linlithgow's patience, strength and administrative skill were shown to the full in those difficult years. The war inevitably interrupted or hampered much of the work which was nearest to his heart, to further the material prosperity and constitutional progress of India. As time goes by, the greatness of the service he rendered to India in those critical years will become even more apparent.

Though not entirely a stranger to this Legislature, I have till lately served India as a soldier. As a soldier, in the positions which I have held during this war, I know better perhaps than anyone what the United Nations owe to India for our success in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism and the barbarous ambitions of Japan. I shall do my best to see that the debt is acknowledged and paid, not only with tributes of words but with practical aid. I will also try to pay my personal debt to the Indian soldier for his gallant and enduring service by doing my best to further the welfare of the Indian peoples of whom the Indian soldier is the fitting representative. Though the soldier stands in the limelight, it is not only to the soldier that the United Nations owe gratitude; the Indian worker also, and many others in India, have made a very great and vital contribution to the war effort.

My first task here is to assist the South-East Asia Command to drive the enemy from the gates of India. There can be no peace or prosperity for India or anyone else till the Japanese ambitions are utterly destroyed.

I need say little to you on the general course of the war. You have seen for yourselves how the United Nations took and withstood the dangerous shocks of three years of

war—war for which their enemies had planned and prepared, while they had planned for peace; and how they rallied from those shocks in irresistible strength. You have seen how the spirit of the British people flashed like a sword from its sheath at the challenge of the disasters in France; how they faced a triumphant Germany for a year, almost alone and unequipped, but undaunted; how they won the Battle of Britain against the mighty German air force, and the Battle of the Atlantic against Germany's many U-Boats, and, with the aid of the Dominions and India and the United States, the Battle of the Mediterranean and Africa against the combined strength of German and Italian sea, land and air forces. You have seen how Russian met the mightiest, the most formidably equipped, the most mobile, the most highly trained, the most arrogantly confident force of fighting men ever launched by land; and has hurled them back in defeat and ruin, as she did another would-be world conqueror 130 years ago. As one who has seen much of the Russian soldier both in peace and in war, I have watched with special interest the prowess of an army and people I have always liked and admired. You have seen too how the United States of America has recovered from the treacherous surprises of Pearl Harbour and Manila, and how powerful a fighting machine she has organised to carry her counter-offensive to Japan. You have seen China indomitable for over six years though almost unarmed. You are joined with four of the toughest nations of the world in spirit and action. The end is certain, and you may be proud of your contribution to it.

When the end will come it is difficult yet to say. Germany is reeling under a series of shocks, physical and moral, which may well put her out of the ring at an early date, though we must not count on it. We shall then be able to intensify the war against Japan. You realise the physical difficulties of the re-conquest of Burma and of the other territory seized by the Japanese early in the war. It will be accomplished but it needs careful training and preparation.

India as one of the principal bases of the war against Japan must be stable and organised. To maintain stability we must solve our economic problems. Food, which is the most important of them, was so fully debated in both Houses at the last session of the Legislature that I need say little here about it. It is an all-India problem, which my Government is trying to organise on an all-India basis. The key points in our plan are the strict supervision of

dealers under the Foodgrains Control Order, the avoidance of competitive buying in the procurement of Government requirements, statutory price-control, control over movements, and rationing in the larger towns. We rely for success on the administrative energy of the Provincial Governments—and on parallel action in the Indian States—and I am glad to say that during the past four months we have made progress. We are not out of the wood yet, but, backed by substantial imports, I believe we can improve our food position greatly in 1944. Our aim is not to favour the townsman at the expense of the cultivator, but to see that the staple foodgrains are available to all at prices at once fair to the cultivator and within the means of the poorer members of our population. The "Grow More Food" campaign has already produced valuable additions to our supplies and will, I am sure, produce more. There is likely to be a world shortage for some years after the war during the period of recovery, and India must be prepared to stand by herself as far as possible. A bold agricultural policy will be necessary.

The situation in Bengal is special, and has caused my Government grave anxiety. But there, too, conditions have improved, and I trust will continue to improve. We must run no risk of last year's disaster being repeated.

The food problem is closely linked with the inflationary threat, which we are determined to avert. The Finance Member will deal fully with this in introducing the Budget, and I do not intend to speak now of the remedies he will propose. I need only say that there has been a distinct improvement in the rate of savings and that we have made some progress in increasing the supply and bringing down the prices of consumer's goods manufactured in India, as well as of those imported from abroad. The new Department of Industries and Civil Supplies has formidable tasks ahead of it but has made a good start with standard cloth, the release of woollen goods to the general public, and the control of the prices of imported drugs.

The transportation system has been subjected to great strains, which it has supported creditably, thanks to the fine work of our Railwaymen, to whose steadiness and regularity we owe a great deal. I know that conditions of travel are not easy for the general public; I am afraid that that is inevitable in war time and is a condition obtaining practically throughout the world at present. The latest problem to confront not only the transportation authorities,

but public bodies, industrialists, and private households throughout India is shortage of coal. The seasonal fall in raisings which occurs in the last quarter of the year was abnormally great in 1943. There were reasons for this—an exceptionally good harvest, the presence of easier and better paid work in the coal-fields, difficulties about the supply of food, and the epidemic of malaria, combined to draw labour away from the mines and to make their return slow. Labour conditions are beginning to return to normal; but there is much to be done to improve the raising and distribution of coal and conditions in the coal-fields. My Government has appointed a Coal Commissioner to study all the factors bearing on production and movement and to see that the policy of the departments concerned is effectively carried out. We shall, I hope, effect a considerable improvement, though it may take time.

Unless and until some other form of government can be established with general consent, the present Government of India, mainly an Indian Government, will continue to carry out to the best of its ability—and I am satisfied that it is a very good ability—the primary purposes of any government—the maintenance of law and order, the duties of internal administration, and the preparation for the work ahead at the end of the war. The winning of this war is our first task, but it must not exclude preparation for the future.

We are approaching the end of the greatest of all wars. On the whole, in view of the scale of the dangers and disasters to the world as a whole, India has come through it with less hurt than any other nation in the front line. And the war has in many directions enhanced her opportunities and prospects. It has hastened her industrial development, it will increase food production, it has strengthened her financial position. That it has not brought, as in certain other countries, an increased unity of spirit and purpose is an unhappy circumstance which we all deplore. There is, however, nothing more unprofitable than to indulge in recriminations about the past. We must look forward and not back.

The post-war world will be for India a world of great opportunities and great dangers, in which she has an outstanding rôle to play. It is our present business to prepare her materially and morally for these testing years.

Let us count the blessing first. India has great undeveloped resources, in agriculture and in industry. Her

soil is not yet cultivated to its full fruitfulness; with improvement in methods, in irrigation, and in fertilization, we can increase our food supply greatly both in quality and quantity. We can much improve the breed of cattle. There is wide scope for development in India's main industry, agriculture.

There are also great commercial possibilities in India. There are mineral resources still undeveloped; there is abundant labour, a portion of which has now attained a considerable degree of technical skill. India has many experienced and able men of business. Her financial position at the end of this war should be a good one. There are almost unlimited markets, internal and external, for her produce.

Such are her main economic assets. She has, however, also many economic difficulties and disabilities. The pressure of increasing population, the small percentage of educated persons, the low standard of health services, the poor conditions in which the greater part both of agricultural and labouring populations live, the flagrant contrast between wealth and poverty, the inadequacy of communications, all mark the immensity of the problem which confronts India in raising the standard of living. Our task is to use rightly and to best advantage her great economic assets; not to increase the wealth of the few, but to raise the many from poverty to a decent standard of comfort. A hard task indeed, but a noble task, which calls from all for a spirit of co-operation, a spirit of hope and a spirit of sacrifice.

The present Government means to prepare the way for India's post-war development with all earnestness of spirit and with all resources, official and non-official, which it can enlist.

We have to consider first of all the "winding-up" process that follows all wars—the demobilisation and re-settlement of soldiers, the termination of war-time contracts with industry and the orderly return of industrial labour to peacetime tasks; the dispersal of property and stocks of goods acquired for war purposes.

Our great aim must be to plan for economic and social development so as to raise our standards of living and general welfare. We must lift the poor man of India from poverty to security; from ill-health to vigour; from ignorance to understanding; and our rate of progress must

no longer be at bullock-cart standard but at least at the pace of the handy and serviceable jeep.

As you know, the development of India is being dealt with by a Committee of my Executive Council, which is assisted by a number of other committees with a strong non-official element. I am considering means to strengthen our planning organisation and to accelerate our progress. Much useful preliminary work has been done, and we have now reached a stage at which, for certain subjects at least, as for example the demobilisation and resettlement of soldiers, definite planning can begin in some detail. Over the greater part of the field our actual conduct after the war will depend to some extent—often to a great extent—on international factors—such as tariff policy and international currency—of which we can at present know little. But we need not wait on these; on the big questions of policy we have to make certain broad assumptions, and we are now deciding what our assumptions should be. Concurrently we are appointing individual development officers—not Committees—to draw up outline plans for subjects such as electrification, industries, road development, irrigation and agriculture. We are also arranging to give opportunities for bodies of Indians connected with industry, the health services, and other branches of development to visit the United Kingdom, and if required the U.S.A., to study for the benefit of India the latest developments in their line of work. For the main social services we already have the Educational Adviser's memorandum, and shall later have the report of the Bhore Committee on medicine and public health. I believe that during 1944 our plans will take shape; they must cover the whole of India, and the Provinces and States will, I am sure, co-operate with the Centre in producing the best and most comprehensive possible statement of our needs. I and my Government are in earnest in doing all we can to further India's progress after the war.

We welcome constructive suggestions; and my Government is examining with interest the plan recently propounded by seven prominent businessmen. The views of the authors of this plan on the objects to be achieved are in principle the same as those of my Government—we must work for a substantial increase in standards of living and social welfare. We may on examination differ on the methods to be employed, their relative importance in the plan as a whole, the part to be played by the State and by private enterprise, and the financial practicability of

development on the scale contemplated within the time suggested by the authors; but our aim is similar and we welcome any sincere contribution to the problem that sets people thinking and make them realise both the possibilities and the pitfalls ahead of us.

As I said at Calcutta, it may in the initial stages be necessary for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to devote the larger proportion of the resources available to economic development, agricultural and industrial, so as to increase the wealth of the country. But you may rest well assured that the vital matters of health and education will not be allowed to stand still, and that the recommendations of the Educational Adviser and the Bhoré Committee will receive the most earnest consideration.

So much for India's economic future. It should be possible if all goes well, to make good progress; and to lay plans well ahead. It is more difficult at present to plan India's political future in any detail. I can state to you what I know is the point of view of practically the whole of the British people, of His Majesty's present Government, and, I am confident, of any future Government of the United Kingdom. It is their genuine desire to see India a prosperous country, a united country, enjoying complete and unqualified self-government as a willing partner of the British Commonwealth. That last desire is not prompted by any sense of imperialism or wish for domination but by a real belief that in such association India can best find security and help in the testing years ahead, and that peace in the East can so be best assured.

I am absolutely convinced not only that the above represents the genuine desire of the British people, but that they wish to see an early realisation of it. It is qualified only at present by an absolute determination to let nothing stand in the way of the earliest possible defeat of Germany and Japan; and by a resolve to see that in the solution of the constitutional problem full account is taken of the interests of those who have loyally supported us in this war and at all other times—the soldiers who have served the common cause; the people who have worked with us; the Rulers and populations of the States to whom we are pledged; the minorities who have trusted us to see that they get a fair deal. We are bound in justice, in honour, in the interests of progress, to hand over India to Indian

rule, which can maintain the peace and order and progress which we have endeavoured to establish. I believe that we should take some risk to further this; but until the two main Indian parties at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress.

The Cripps offer was a bold and generous offer and gave India a great opportunity to progress towards solution of her problems. Be well assured that it was not made in any panic. I can say that with certainty; I was Commander-in-Chief at the time and in a position to know that there was no panic in the councils of those in authority, either in India or in the United Kingdom. We are not a people who panic easily in the face of danger. The offer was made in the hope that when war had come so close to India and threatened its national life, it might arouse, as in other countries, a spirit of unity and co-operation that would have overridden political differences in the hour of danger. That hope was not fulfilled. There is no profit in recriminations about the reasons for the rejection of the Cripps offer. But since that offer, as has been stated more than once by His Majesty's Government, is still open, it may be well to restate it here. Nearly two years have passed since the Cripps draft declaration was made public, but it stands forth today as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government that India shall have full control of her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and of the world. It declared in unmistakable terms that India should have the same status as the Dominions or the United Kingdom itself under a constitution of her own devising. It also embodied a constructive suggestion by His Majesty's Government to aid India in the attainment of that status. Proposals were made for setting up a constitution-making body, representative both of British India and of the Indian States: and His Majesty's Government undertook to accept and implement the constitution framed by this body, subject to two conditions. First, the declaration recognised the right of a Province not to accede to the Indian Union. Such Provinces could either retain their present constitutional position; or if they so desired, His Majesty's Government would agree with them upon a new constitution giving them the same status as the new Indian Union itself. Second, the declaration made provision for the signing of a treaty between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body to provide for matters arising out of the transfer of power including protection for racial and religious minorities. It was made clear beyond all doubt

that this treaty would not impose any restrictions upon the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship with the other States of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Cripps offer was an offer to India of full self-government, of the right to frame her own constitution, and even of the right, if she so desired, to sever her partnership with the British Commonwealth. Because of the military situation—which still obtains—it was provided that, pending the framing of the future constitution, the direction of defence should remain the responsibility of His Majesty's Government, but it was contemplated that Indian leaders should be associated not only with the Government of their country—under the existing constitution necessarily, till a new constitution was framed and accepted—but with the counsels of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

The offer of co-operation in the Government on this basis by the leaders of Indian opinion is still open, to those who have a genuine desire to further the prosecution of the war and the welfare of India. But the demand for release of those leaders who are in detention is an utterly barren one until there is some sign on their part of willingness to co-operate. It needs no consultation with any one or anything but his own conscience for any one of those under detention to decide whether he will withdraw from the Quit India resolution and the policy which had such tragic consequences, and will co-operate in the great tasks ahead.

Not the least of those tasks is the preliminary examination of the constitutional problems of India by an authoritative body of Indians. We should be ready to give this body every assistance it might desire in carrying out its task. For the present the Government of the country must continue to be a joint British and Indian affair—with the ultimate responsibility still remaining with the British Parliament, though it is exercised through a predominantly Indian Executive—until it can be transferred to a fresh constitution. But the framing of that future constitution is essentially and properly an Indian responsibility. Until they can agree on its form, the transfer of power cannot be made. We offered a suggestion in the Cripps proposals, which may or may not have been suitable. If Indians can devise a method which will produce agreement more readily, so much the better. If I may offer a personal opinion, born

of some experience, the smaller the body which discusses a difficult and controversial problem, the more likely it is that a profitable solution will emerge.

On the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for two great communities and certain other important minorities, as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities is for Indians to decide. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples. The solutions of the problem have varied. England and Scotland, after centuries of strife, arrived at an absolute union; in Canada, the British and French elements reached a Federal agreement which operates satisfactorily; the French, Italian and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of Federation. In all the above there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation with a Federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous Civil War. In Ireland the conflicting elements have so far failed to unite, and Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is of course only relative. The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have devised a new modification of its already flexible system, which will also no doubt repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which will most nearly fulfil her own needs. But no man can alter geography.

I have spoken to you frankly and bluntly as I have been taught to speak, as a soldier. Let me re-state the main principles which guide me in my heavy task and responsibility. Our primary object, overriding all others, must be not merely to make certain of winning the war—the United Nations have already done that, by endurance through adversities, by sacrifice of comforts, by unity of spirit, by unremitting hard work—but to win it as speedily as possible, and with the least draft on future prosperity. That is a great administrative task. The second task is to prepare for the future, economically and politically.

We cannot settle the future of this country without the full co-operation of the British and Indian peoples and the co-operation within the Indian people of Hindus, Muslims and other minority groups and of the Indian States.

I am conscious of the co-operation of many elements in this country—the eminent and patriotic Indians of my Executive Council and of Provincial Governments; the fighting forces of India, the largest forces ever raised in history by voluntary enlistment; the leaders and workers of industry who have made such a contribution to the war; the Rulers of the Indian States. All these place India first in their thoughts and aims, but they have a practical view of the necessity for co-operation to realise progress. There is an important element which stands aloof; I recognise how much ability and high-mindedness it contains: but I deplore its present policy and methods as barren and unpractical. I should like to have the co-operation of this element in solving the present and the future problems of India. If its leaders feel that they cannot consent to take part in the present government of India, they may still be able to assist in considering future problems. But I see no reason to release those responsible for the declaration of August 8th, 1942, until I am convinced that the policy of non-co-operation and even of obstruction has been withdrawn—not in sackcloth and ashes, that helps no one—but in recognition of a mistaken and unprofitable policy.

During the last three months, I have visited 7 out of the 11 main Provinces of British India, and two Indian States. I am setting out tomorrow to visit two more Provinces. I have seen something of the rural life as well as of the towns. I wonder whether, in considering India's economic and political problems, we always remember how much of India is countryside and how little urban, how many live in villages and how few, comparatively, in towns. I am impressed everywhere by the work which is being done for the betterment of India both by officials and non-officials. India has a very small official administration for its size, but it has very fine services; the way in which they have stood up to the additional strain and work thrown on them by the war has been admirable. There are also a very large number of non-official bodies and persons who are doing great work for India. There is much goodwill and wisdom in India if we can harness it to a common purpose.

I have no desire to make invidious comparisons but I do feel it worth while to point out that coalition government by Indians for Indians is not an impossible ideal. It

is being carried out at the Centre without friction; it has been carried on for nearly seven years with conspicuous success in the Punjab. Thanks to the leadership of men of good sense, goodwill, and good courage, the affairs of that Province have prospered with the minimum of communal friction; they have administered their Province in the interests of the Province, but also with regard to the interests of India and of the war effort of the United Nations, to which the Punjab has made so striking a contribution. I will make bold enough to say that had all Provinces worked the 1935 Act in the same spirit and with the same efficiency India would now be very close to complete self-government.

We have come a long way together up the steep and difficult mountain at the summit of which lies complete Indian self-government. We are almost within sight of the top, but as with most mountain climbs that are worth doing, the final cliffs are the steepest and most baffling of all. At such a time it is doubly necessary to test each hand-hold and foot-hold, to cut adequate steps in slippery ice, so that the whole party, roped together, may not fall back in ruin. It is not the moment that prudent mountaineers choose to unrope, to dismiss their guides, and after violent dispute to take separate routes towards different peaks. We must go on together; we cannot halt too long at the heights which we have reached, and we cannot with honour or safety turn back. We may have to pause to reconnoitre or cut steps, but we must endeavour to go on climbing, even though the rate may seem slow to impatient watchers or to the climbers themselves.

Finally, we must keep in mind the splendour of the view that lies before us when the summit is reached—the prospect of an India at peace within herself, a partner in our great Commonwealth of Nations, the mother of a great people, a shield for peace in the East, busy and prosperous, yet with leisure to develop the thought and poetry and art which are the real salt of life and of which India has already contributed much to the world. Not an immediate vision, but I do not think it unattainable if we work together with patience, good sense and goodwill.

I believe firmly in the future of India, I am a sincere friend of India and should like to help her to political advance, but my military training has made me quite certain that no objective is ever gained without the fullest measure of co-operation from all concerned.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE ANNUAL
GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY ON
THURSDAY, THE 23RD MARCH 1944.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I welcome you all at this meeting to which some of you have come long distances. This large gathering is a measure of the importance of the work you are doing and your deep interest in it, and the wide area covered by your organisations.

Though this is the first time I have had the privilege of addressing this joint meeting, I have seen something of the work of all these bodies in India and of the Joint War Committee in the Middle East.

I should like to begin by paying a tribute to the splendid work done by Lord and Lady Linlithgow. When the war broke out they had already considerable knowledge of the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association and they used that knowledge to very good effect in initiating and developing the work of the Joint War Committee. We also owe a debt of special gratitude to General Moberly who, in the face of many difficulties, hampered by lack of staff and by constantly changing circumstances, built up the Joint War Committee's organisation, which has already proved invaluable and will remain our framework to the end of the war.

You will all have been interested in Sir Firoz Khan Noon's statement of the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society. This Society is sometimes referred to as the peacetime organisation but as you have heard from Sir Firoz Khan Noon, whom I warmly welcome as Chairman both of this Society and of the Joint War Committee, there has been little peace for the Indian Red Cross Society this last year. The Society has been engaged in rescue operations of the first importance. It was Lady Linlithgow who initiated by a broadcast appeal the Society's famine relief, which has resulted in extensive and valuable work in the procurement and distribution in Bengal of milk and blankets. The sympathies of the world have been aroused by Bengal's plight. India has received welcome help from many parts of the British Commonwealth, from America and from China. The strength of the Red Cross depends largely on its international nature and the appeal it makes to the humanitarian feelings of all men. For this reason we have to be careful in India to preserve, even at the risk of being thought pedantic, the essential character of the

Red Cross. For instance by the Geneva Convention the Red Cross cannot provide amenities to *fit* soldiers (only to wounded and sick ones), and we must therefore keep our Red Cross organisations distinct and their records and accounts quite separate from those of other activities.

Sir Cameron Badenoch's speech gives evidence of strong vitality in the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade Overseas. The large increase in the number of divisions is very satisfactory and I congratulate Orissa district on the progress they have made.

As Sir Cameron says, members of the nursing divisions have assisted at Military hospitals all over the country. I cannot overrate the value of these services, since the shortage of nurses in India has long been a matter of deep anxiety. I strongly support the appeals that have been made for more nurses. We need for the nursing services every suitable woman that can be found and I trust we shall not appeal in vain. The comfort, perhaps the lives, of many who have fought well for us will depend on the result.

To turn to the activities of the rapidly expanding organisation of the Joint War Committee.

The latest reports of the result of the Red Cross Week show a total of a crore of rupees and some Provinces, including Madras and Bengal, have still to hold their weeks. We were particularly proud to receive a gift from His Majesty the King-Emperor, and another from the King of Egypt was also much appreciated. India has made a most generous contribution, including many princely gifts from the Princely Order. The Red Cross needs all this money: for its responsibilities, already great, will inevitably expand when we are able to concentrate our might against the Japanese. We shall have to give more and more help to the military hospitals and we shall need closer and closer co-operation from the Provinces. The appointment of Regional Commissioners will I hope make it possible both to help the Provinces more and to co-ordinate more closely all the splendid effort that is being put forth.

General Jolly has told you of the work being done for prisoners of war in Europe and I should like to express our gratitude to Mrs. Amery and the Indian Comforts Fund which in London arranges for the despatch of food parcels and comforts, on a very large scale indeed, to Indian prisoners of war. You may be interested to hear that the Fund is sending special food to Switzerland for escaped

Indian prisoners of war. Mrs. Amery herself has done outstanding work for Indian prisoners of war, and India owes her and her helpers a real debt of gratitude.

There are many thousands from whose minds a heavy burden of anxiety would be lifted if they could be assured that our prisoners of war in Japanese hands were being treated humanely and were receiving food and comforts through the Red Cross, but I fear I have nothing to add to what General Jolly has told you. As he has said, we will sustain our efforts and keep our stores ready to ship. In view of the attitude of the Japanese there is no more we can do immediately but we are not forgetful of all those who are condemned to endure till the progress of our armies can free them and restore them to their families. May that day be soon.

This coming year will provide a severe test of all the three organisations that are represented here today. I hope you will go to your tasks with new strength and determination. My wife and I will certainly help you wherever we can and shall take the keenest interest in your doings. We shall hope, whenever opportunity offers, to meet the workers in the Provinces and States. On their willingness and ability to carry the burden, which in many cases is heavy, our success depends; but we are confident, because we know with certainty that we can rely on their zeal and energy.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE BIHAR POLICE PARADE AT PATNA ON TUESDAY, THE 11TH APRIL 1944.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of inspecting so large a contingent of the Bihar Police Force.

First of all I should like to congratulate you on your smartness and bearing, and the steadiness of your drill on this parade, which have much impressed me.

I need not remind you of the importance of your task and the extent to which the peace and well-being of the Province and of India depend on your efforts. I therefore am glad to be able to congratulate you on the growing strength of the Bihar Police Force and its increasing success in its struggle against crime and disorder.

In 1942, you went through a period of severe stress when the criminal forces of disorder and violence were let loose in many districts. At that time you lacked the numbers and equipment to suppress the disturbers of the peace immediately. You had setbacks and casualties, and for a short time the forces of lawlessness and disorder got the upper hand in some parts of the Province.

Even after the disturbances had been suppressed, there was an aftermath in the increase in the numbers of dacoities and burglaries; and I have regretted to notice that the number of dacoities in 1943 was more than twice as much as in 1942, while the number of burglaries was also appreciably higher.

It was clearly necessary to strengthen the Police Force to meet this danger; and your numbers are now being raised to over 21,000. An increase is being made in the investigating and prosecuting staffs, as well as in the rank and file. The efficiency of these staffs is, as you well realise, a most important element in reducing crime. I am glad to learn that the Force has been provided with much-needed motor transport. Though you are still handicapped by shortage of training facilities, equipment and buildings, every effort is being made to repair these deficiencies, and I am quite clear that the Force is definitely on the upgrade and that your morale is high, I have seen personal evidence of this by your bearing on this parade. I have been told of a notable encounter at Sonbarsa a few months ago, when a single Assistant Sub-Inspector and 12 constables, of whom only nine were armed, repelled a mob of 150, led by a notorious outlaw, and armed with three times as many firearms as the police party. That incident showed the great courage of the party and proved the high morale of your Force. The two King's Police Medals and four Indian Police Medals awarded to members of this small party were indeed well earned, and I am glad to have been able to present them today.

There is still much to be done, and it is imperative and urgent to reduce crime to a normal figure. But I am confident that you have the measure of your task, and that you will continue to render great services both to Bihar and to India. As a tribute to your comrades who fell during the rebellion I propose to send a small contribution to the fund which you are collecting in their memory.

I congratulate you on your appearance today and wish you all success in the strenuous work in front of you.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY COMMITTEE ON THE 22ND JUNE 1944.

Agriculture must take a high place—perhaps the highest place of all—in our plans for the development of India after the war. Unless we succeed in raising substantially the standard of living in our villages, not only for the small farmer but for all who make their living on the land, India cannot become a wealthier, or a healthier, or a better-educated country.

There are two ways in which we can make progress. We can bring more land under cultivation; and we can make better use of the land we cultivate already. The first of these methods is obviously important, and in considering it you will also doubtless remember the need for extending our forests and preserving and perhaps extending our grazing grounds.

It is to the second method that I wish to draw particular attention because, although you are concerned principally with post-war development, your advice on this method will have an important bearing on our war-time food problem. The use of all possible sources of irrigation, the supply of manure, the supply of improved seed, and protection against pests and diseases must be vital elements both in our short-term and in our long-term programmes. I am confident that we have behind us a great deal of knowledge, the fruits of many years of research work, and that the toughest part of the problem will be to translate this knowledge into action. Much has been done already, but our districts are not adequately staffed, and I shall not be satisfied until we are organised both at the Centre and in the Provinces so that there is an agricultural plan not only for each district but for each village or group of villages. The crux of the problem is trained personnel. You may think that it is impossible to expand and reorganise the Provincial Agricultural Departments thoroughly enough or quickly enough to get early results, but I suggest you consider what has been done in industry during the war. We cannot produce in a few months scores and hundreds of men with degrees and diplomas—we need them and must set about training them now—but we can surely produce for the immediate future improvised staffs of practical men who can get our agricultural drive going. I should like to see selected landowners—men of education and modern ideas about agriculture—taking part either as temporary officials, or as the trainers of the subordinate staff, and I

am sure we need bold practical training schemes, with the courses simplified so that we may make a real start in the field.

There also seems to me to be here a great opportunity for young India; for the many thousands of ardent young men, who believe in India's future, who have a country background and upbringing and have received a University education; they could do no greater service to India than to qualify themselves by a course of training to assist the Government in their plans for the agricultural development of India.

I wish the Committee 'all success in their vitally important deliberations. If they can produce a practical and progressive plan by which we can increase our agricultural production, not only after the war, but now, they will have rendered a great service.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT BISHOP COTTON'S SCHOOL, SIMLA, ON THE 9TH SEPTEMBER 1944.

I am not going to keep you long. I can tell you sincerely that I am very glad to have had the opportunity to visit this school and to see something of its work, since education is a subject in which I am deeply interested. The only maxim I am going to give you about education today is this: "Never stop educating yourself, never cease to learn". I hope and I think that I have never tired of acquiring knowledge, I hope that I never shall. That does not mean to say, be bookish, absorb yourself in theoretical learning; there is much wisdom in books, there is more practical knowledge in experience, in contact with your fellow men, in travel, in daily work with your hands or brain. But try never to cease acquiring knowledge—education—of some kind or another. Then at need you can with confidence follow the precept of Ecclesiasticus: "Take counsel of thine own mind: a man's mind is wont to tell him more than seven watchmen in a high tower." It is most important that you should have a good broad solid foundation on which to build your knowledge. That foundation I hope you will acquire or have acquired here.

This school is connected in its beginnings with what is to my mind the greatest of all schools, Winchester, and with two other great schools, Rugby and Marlborough. It is also contemporary with a school in England very closely connected with India, Haileybury, which became a Public

School in 1862. The Public School system is being fiercely challenged now in the United Kingdom. It is good that it should be so challenged, that it should have to meet criticism and be compelled to examine and where necessary to reform itself. All long-standing institutions gather dust and sometimes decay, and must be kept up to date. But I feel pretty sure that the tradition of these schools will survive and will I hope be spread much wider. So long as the human race survives, character will count for more than mere learning. What are the components of what we call "character"? I think courage and truth come first, since as a great writer has said: "Without courage there can be no truth, and without truth there can be no other virtue". Kindliness and good humour towards one's fellow men of every sort are the foundation of good manners; and you will find that good manners will not only smoothe your own path but will contribute much to the happiness of others; while bad manners can do an infinity of harm, especially in the East where good manners are traditional. Knowledge built on a foundation of courage, truth and good manners will carry you through most difficulties; and you will surely have many difficulties to face.

You will be coming to manhood, many of you, just at the end of the greatest of all wars, at the beginning of the greatest of all problems of readjustment that the world has ever had to face. You are likely to see a troubled world for a number of years, a world which has been shaken by a great calamity, and must take some time to recover. It will need much hard work, goodwill and wisdom to put matters straight and to enable mankind to enjoy the almost infinite opportunities that science has opened to us. For this land of India in particular great possibilities of advancement lie ahead, and also great perils. A young man should never be daunted by difficulties, and should always welcome opportunity. I know you will have an interesting time in the years ahead, in the great adventure of building up a new world from the confusion in which we see it today.

I remember a story a friend told me about the end of the last war. A few days after the armistice in France, a senior officer found a young subaltern of the Coldstream Guards exercising his men in all the peace-time precision of ceremonial drill. The senior suggested that this was a rather sudden reversion to normal routine, with the war barely over. The young officer replied with magnificent disdain: "Sir, I would have you know that this war has

been only an incident in the history of the Coldstream Guards”.

Well, that is one point of view. This war, for all its grim upheaval, is but an incident in the history of civilisation, and must not be allowed to interfere with the progress of mankind and the normal routine of life. The world has still to be fed—better fed than before; to be housed—better housed than before; to be clothed—better clothed than before; and beyond all better educated and given more leisure to enjoy the fruits of better education. All this is possible, and it must be done, and it will be for your generation to realise it, and to make a great forward stride on the path of progress. War is utterly evil, and yet it brings progress in its wake more quickly than many years of peace, and it brings into relief the virtues of the common man—courage, comradeship, self-sacrifice—which are so often overlaid by self-interest and ease in the years of peace.

You may have heard that I am fond of reading poetry, and that I sometimes quote it. I will end with some lines, written by a poet who was killed fighting in the last war, which have always remained in my head:

“He said that still through Chaos
Works on the ancient plan,
And two things have altered not
Since first the world began—
The beauty of the wild green earth
And the bravery of man.”

Those are two things which will last, I believe, to the end of time, certainly for as long as we need to look ahead. If you can always admire and enjoy the beauty of this earth, and if you will face bravely whatever fate sends you, I believe you will fulfil much of your purpose in life, and will enjoy your passage through it.

Finally, I would call your attention, as you have doubtless had it called before, to an advantage you here enjoy. There can be no other large school of this kind set as high up, within sight of the greatest mountains of the world; so that while you are here and afterwards when you think of it, you can learn to say to yourself, what is, for a man who loves the mountains, one of the loveliest of verses from the Psalms: “I will lift up mine eyes to the hills, from which cometh my help”.

I wish to all of you in this fine school, good fortune, now and in the years to come.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE 1ST BN. 6 RAJPUTANA RIFLES (WELLESLEY'S RIFLES), ON THE 29TH SEPTEMBER 1944.

It is a great pleasure for me to come here today to welcome you back to India after five years of strenuous campaigning abroad, during two years of which you served under my command.

You may well take pride in the record of those five years fighting and of the battles enshrined in that record, which includes names which will always be remembered, not only in India but wherever and whenever gallant deeds are told or sung—SIDI BARRANI, KEREN, HALFAYA PASS, EL ALAMEIN, CASSINO. Those will be proud names for ever in your history.

You bear in your title the name of a very great soldier under whom you fought 150 years ago; and you have very worthily upheld the high opinion he then had of you.

I am glad to learn that your comradeship with a famous Highland Regiment in a great exploit at KEREN has been commemorated in a Pipe March. A March on the pipes is the best of music for brave men.

I congratulate you on your achievements and on the honours you have won; I pay a tribute to the memory of your comrades who have fallen; I welcome your return to India with such fame; and I wish you all good fortune and continued success in the days to come.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO AN ADDRESS BY DR. H. J. NICHOLS, CHAIRMAN, ADVISORY COMMITTEE, INDIA, INSTITUTION OF CIVIL ENGINEERS, BOMBAY, ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE DIPLOMA OF HONORARY MEMBERSHIP OF THE INSTITUTION TO HIS EXCELLENCY ON THE 7TH DECEMBER 1944.

Gentlemen,—I am very proud to have become an Honorary Member of your great Institution of Civil Engineers, and to receive the Diploma of Membership from so distinguished a body of representatives. I hope you will convey my gratitude to the President and to the Council.

When I was informed early this year of the offer of honorary membership, I was highly gratified but, I own, just a little surprised, since I have neither skill nor knowledge in mechanical matters. Though I have owned and

driven cars for many years, I know no more of what goes on under the bonnet of a car than I do of what passes under the bonnet of a woman; both are mysteries to me. So that the "general advancement of mechanical science", which is the object of your Institution, will not benefit much from my personal efforts, though it will most certainly have my warmest encouragement. And this, as you have told me, is what is expected from honorary members.

I owe much to the work of the Royal Engineers during this war; they certainly lived up to the definition in a couplet of Kipling's that has stuck in my mind:

"When the children of Israel made bricks without straw,
They were learning the ordinary work of our Corps."

In our post-war offensive against poverty in India, engineers will certainly be in the forefront of the battle; and you may rest assured of my support for the development of the country by hydro-electric schemes, irrigation, road-making, and other engineering activities connected with industries and agriculture. I am sure you will agree with me that one of the first needs of India is a very great increase in the numbers under technical training, of all kinds.

I deplore with you the fact that men of practical experience, such as engineers, so seldom have time or inclination to take an active part in public affairs, which would greatly benefit from their experience. They are normally too occupied with "Simple service simply given to his own kind in their common need", to quote again from Kipling.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour which your Institution has done me, and I assure you of my warm interest in the progress of engineering in India.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL PRIZE-GIVING CEREMONY ON BOARD THE I.M.M.T.S. "DUFFERIN", ON 7TH DECEMBER 1944.

I am grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for your generous welcome. I am very glad to have been able to visit this Training Ship *Dufferin*. It gives me several opportunities: the opportunity to express to the Mercantile Marine my admiration for its work during the war; the opportunity to see for myself something of what India is doing to train her youth to the sea; and the opportunity to congratulate

Captain McConnell and all of you on the standard of character and education which you are setting in this ship.

I am a soldier and must speak to you from the point of view of a soldier, and, I am afraid, a landlubber. It is customary in writing official narratives of military operations—I have written some ten or a dozen during this war—to begin by outlining the plan for defeating the enemy, then to describe the course of the fighting; and in a sort of postscript to refer kindly but briefly to the work of the transport-drivers and others on the lines of communication. The Mercantile Marine seldom, if ever, gets a mention at all. It should really be the other way round. Not merely does the success of any military operation depend on the quality of the work on the lines of communication; but no operation can be carried out unless the transportation system is in good order and the transport personnel work with a will. In all operations carried out by British or Indian forces in this war the story begins further back still, with the Mercantile Marine on the high seas, bringing reinforcements and supplies, and with the naval escorts protecting the convoys. It is unspectacular but vital work, the mainstay of our successes and indeed of our lives. It is work carried out in conditions of danger and discomfort, though it receives comparatively little recognition. I am glad therefore to have this opportunity, as a military commander, to pay a tribute to that work, and to impress on you all its value to us. I know what I have owed to it as a Commander-in-Chief; I know what I owe to it every day now as Viceroy of India. Former cadets of this ship are playing a notable part in this work, as officers of the Indian Mercantile Marine or of their naval escorts. I understand that 50% of the 700 or so cadets who have passed through this ship are actually serving at sea in the Royal Indian Navy or Mercantile Marine.

Next, I want to say a few words to you on the significance of the career you have chosen, for yourselves and for India. It is a great service to which you are dedicating yourselves. I think it is right to say that the seafaring profession and the medical profession are the two callings which have made the greatest contribution to the progress of civilization. Both are lives of hard service, yours especially. Both are of great value to humanity. Trade by sea, carried on by the daring of the sailor, has been always the vanguard in the march of civilization throughout the world.

To India the development of a Merchant Service is specially important. I believe there are only two or three countries with a longer coast-line than India, probably only two—Australia and the United States of America—with a greater length of generally navigable coast-line. Russia and Canada may have longer stretches on the map, but they are largely ice-bound and useless for trade. So it is essential that India should have an adequate strength of shipping, manned by her own citizens. I am glad to learn that there has been a record number of applicants this year for the training given on *Dufferin*.

Lastly, I should like to congratulate you all on what I have seen here today, on the standard of training—moral, physical and technical—which this ship upholds. I am sure that you all realise that in your service it is character above everything else that counts. The sea does not long tolerate a weakling or a waverer. When I was a young officer on the North-West Frontier—that was many years ago, I am afraid—it was always impressed on me that the Pathan tribesman was the best practical examiner in minor tactics; he was always watching you, he seldom let carelessness or irresolution pass unpunished, he acted quickly so that your own decisions had to be quick. I should say that the sea was the best practical examiner of character; any weakness, any hesitation, any lack of hardihood is found out and is punished, sooner or later, and almost always sooner. A hard testing life, but a man's life. Oak and triple brass must be round the heart of the man who goes to sea, said the Latin poet Horace. If he had been writing today he might have substituted teak and hardened steel.

I wish you all good fortune in your training and in your seafaring. You have a great opportunity in a great service.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S SPEECH AT THE STATE BANQUET AT HYDERABAD ON THE 9TH DECEMBER 1944.

Your Exalted Highness, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Exalted Highness for the cordial manner in which you have proposed the health of my wife and myself, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the way in which you have received it.

My wife and I have long looked forward to visiting this historic State and making Your Exalted Highness'

acquaintance in person. Our first impression of your fine capital has not belied our expectations, and those responsible for its development are to be congratulated on the success they have achieved in creating a modern town of magnificent wide thoroughfares and stately buildings out of an old Moghul City, without destroying the evidences of its historic past. I was particularly impressed by the imagination and skill with which the Usmania University has been designed and is being built.

The war must inevitably be an ever present background to all our thoughts, even at a social function like this. It has rightly been described by Your Exalted Highness as one of the most terrible wars in history, how terrible only those who have been through the scenes of devastation caused by it can fully judge. In this fight against totalitarian domination Your Exalted Highness has never faltered even in the darkest days, and my distinguished predecessor has already placed on record his deep appreciation of the part played by Your Exalted Highness not only in mobilising to the utmost for the prosecution of the war all the resources of this great State, but also in inspiring your people with belief in the justice of the Allied cause and confidence in its eventual triumph. I myself also, in December last year, had the pleasure of writing to tell Your Exalted Highness how greatly I valued the efforts of yourself and of Hyderabad in the prosecution of the war. The survey which Your Exalted Highness has just given of the multifarious contributions to the war effort of yourself and of your State amply justifies these tributes.

It has given me great satisfaction to hear that plans for post-war reconstruction have already been taken in hand for the future well-being of the people of this State. For it is essential that every Government should be prepared in advance to meet the restoration of peace conditions. A very difficult period of economic readjustment is bound to follow, and wise planning, combined with the provision of funds *now*, when money is plentiful, will do much to ease the period of transition. The Government of India are making extensive preparations to deal with the many vital problems which lie ahead; and I can assure Your Exalted Highness that I shall do my best to see that the fullest co-operation and help possible is extended to the States. The achievement of an agreement between the Government of Madras and Your Exalted Highness' Government over the Tungabhadra irrigation scheme is a great step forward,

and shows the mutual advantage of co-ordinating Hyderabad schemes with those of her neighbouring administrations.

As you know, the feeding of India's ever-increasing population is one of the most pressing problems which has confronted me ever since I assumed my present office. Thanks to the co-operation of the Provinces and States in working the basic plan, the rapid extension of rationing, the success of the "Grow More Food" campaign, and imports from overseas, the position has much improved during the past year; but food must remain a source of anxiety to the whole of India, not only while war-time conditions continue, to interfere with transport, but also for some years to come, until international co-operation has brought back food production and distribution to normal in all countries of the world. It is most important therefore that no administration in this country should relax its efforts to widen the field of rationing and to increase the production of foodgrains. I appreciate what Hyderabad has already done in this most important field, but while congratulating the State administration on the measure of success they have achieved to date, would urge them to make even greater efforts in future, not only in the interests of their own people, but also to bring some relief to their less fortunate fellow countrymen in the deficit areas beyond the State's frontiers.

I was interested to hear of the good use which Hyderabad has made, and proposes to make, of the large increase which the war has brought to the State's annual income. The aboriginal education scheme to which Your Exalted Highness has referred will, I trust, help to raise the standard of living amongst a class of the population whose interests are often neglected. I also commend the five-year plan to provide free primary education in every village of more than 1,000 inhabitants. If India is to derive the full benefit of post-war developments, her sons and daughters must possess at least the rudiments of education. I congratulate this State on the steps which its Government have taken to counter financial inflation. I shall be interested to see to what extent the compulsory savings scheme which has recently been introduced by Your Exalted Highness' Government succeeds in filling the gap caused by the absence of any regular system of income-tax in the State.

Your Exalted Highness has referred to the Reforms announced in 1939 on which your Government has been at

work. It gives me pleasure to learn that Advisory Committees in association with the various Departments of your Government have been set up and have started their duties, and I feel assured that the laws which you have passed for the promotion of local bodies to assist in the administration of the country will bear fruit in the enhanced contentment and prosperity of the people of your State.

I have been informed also that Your Exalted Highness recently issued a firman to your jagirdars urging the necessity of their residing in and taking a personal interest in the administration of their jagirs and doing something for their people. No advice could have been more timely, for in these days no persons in a privileged position can hope to remain so, without rendering some service to those from whom they draw their livelihood.

This is neither the time nor the place for me to speculate on the possible constitutional developments in India after the war, but it is obvious that if the Indian States are to play their proper part in the future Indian polity, they must develop healthy and vigorous constitutional governments in their own territories. In such a development, it would be fitting if Hyderabad as the premier State gave the lead.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now ask you to rise and drink the health of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, and to wish him many more years of health and happiness as Ruler over his State.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA, ON 14TH DECEMBER 1944.

*Your Excellency, Mr. President and Gentlemen,—*I thank you and the Associated Chambers of Commerce for your cordial welcome. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the clear and thoughtful way in which you have dealt with India's current problems. I appreciate that you have handed to myself and to some of my colleagues in the Government, I will not say bouquets, but at least one or two pleasant little buttonholes, which we shall be glad to accept and to wear.

My first year as Viceroy has been a strenuous one and I am afraid I see little sign of the second being less so. My staff inform me that since taking over on the 20th

October 1943, I have spent the equivalent of nearly twenty weeks away from Delhi on tour, and have travelled well over 30,000 miles. I have visited all the Provinces at least once, and some of them two or three times.

I regret that in present conditions it is still impossible for me to make the Viceroy's usual winter stay of some weeks in Calcutta. My house is, as you know, occupied for war purposes; and the demands of war-time administration are so intense that it is not possible to be away long from the Centre at one time. I hope, however, that frequent short visits have enabled me to keep in touch with Calcutta and Bengal.

I join with the President in welcoming His Excellency, Mr. Casey, to his first meeting of the Associated Chambers. Mr. Casey has had a brilliant record in Australia, the United States, and the Middle East; and the wide knowledge and experience he has gathered made him a most happy choice for the Governorship of Bengal during these difficult times. I am sure you have all realised the value of his energy and imagination in all branches of the administration.

The course of the war.

I do not propose to say a great deal regarding the war, you can all see for yourselves how well that is going, and your President has given us a summary of its victorious course during the last year. I must say, however, that I notice with a little regret that he began with what he called "the almost incredible feats of the Russian armies". I yield to no-one in my admiration of the Russian Army, which I have known well for many years, and of its achievements; but in this gathering don't let us be too modest about our own performances. I should like to put these in the foreground, and in the present tense rather than in the past. Surely, if there ever was a feat of arms which might be called incredible, it was the landing on the Normandy coast, the great victory over the flower of the German Army, and the liberation of the whole of France and Belgium in such a surprisingly short time. I have read much of war, and have seen a little, and I am certain that this will go down to history as one of the very greatest military achievements of all time. And in that achievement the British Fleet, the British Air Force, and the British and Canadian Land Forces played an outstanding part. We do not yet know the respective shares in

planning this great battle, nor is there any need that we should. It was a combined British, Dominion and American plan; and surely must have been the finest piece of detailed planning in military history. It was staged from British soil and British ports; and in the subsequent fighting the British forces took their full share. That they should have been able to do so and to overcome such grim defences and such grim foes, and to attack with such vigour after five years hard fighting is a tribute to the endurance of the British race, and its steadfast power to overcome danger or disaster.

In Italy too, British and Indian arms have put up and are putting up a fine performance. Progress may seem slow; but it must be realised that, just at the moment when another assault on a grand scale would probably have broken the German line altogether, General (now Field Marshal) Alexander, whose well-deserved promotion we all welcome, had to send a number of divisions for the landing in the south of France. In spite of this a steady advance has gone on in most difficult country. In this Mediterranean theatre, Indian troops have played a great part. I will read you an extract from a letter of General McCreery, who has succeeded General Leese in the command of the 8th Army. I know General McCreery well, and he is certainly not one who distributes praise lightly. The extract from his letter reads as follows:—

“The Indian divisions are fighting magnificently, and the latest division to greatly distinguish itself is the 10th Indian Division. Unfortunately, I have never served in India, so it is rather curious that when I was commanding a Corps I had at one time all three Indian divisions under my command, and I am now filled with an admiration for the Indian soldier. Their fighting spirit, skill, and endurance are outstanding. Fortunately although we had a very wet October, the health of the troops is still excellent, and everything will be done to look after them as well as possible during this second trying Italian winter.”

To continue the tale of our own exploits, British and Indian. On the eastern frontier of India we have won the greatest land victory as yet achieved over the Japanese forces, and have established complete supremacy over them.

This also was an Allied success, in which British, Indians, Americans, Africans and Chinese took part; but the great bulk of the victorious army was Indian. I am glad to remember that during the sombre events of 1942 in Malaya and Burma, I strenuously maintained that the supremacy of the British and Indian soldier over the Japanese would soon be vindicated, given adequate training in jungle fighting. I am sorry to see that in some parts of the American Press there is still a tendency to decry the fighting qualities of the Indian troops. I am quite sure it does not represent general American opinion, certainly not that of those who have fought alongside them.

In this victory over the Japanese on our Eastern frontier, not only the fighting services in India, but the Railways and Industry, and labour in the mines and in the factories have all had a share. Praise is due to the people of Assam, and particularly to the Naga tribesmen, for their loyalty and steadiness in a time of hardship and adversity.

On other aspects of the war in 1944, our success over the U-boat menace, the great victories of the Americans and Australians in the South-West Pacific, the Russian advances, and the elimination of the Germans from the Balkans, I do not propose to speak. When the end of the war will come, no one can yet say with certainty; it depends on the factor of national morale; that of the Germans at least must be near the breaking point, and that of the Japanese considerably shaken.

You will have noticed the visit of Lord Munster to ascertain the needs of the troops in India in the matter of amenities. It will be most valuable. I am sure you will realise that there is no suggestion that India has not done her best to look after the troops who have been defending her frontiers. It is simply that there has not been enough of everything to go round, and for many years India has had a low priority; on a world view, it was right that the Indian front should wait while the maximum effort was made on the Western front. It is not that we did not represent our needs and ask for improvement; it was just that the personnel and the things we wanted were not available. Now that the position has improved, and victory is close in the Western theatre, Lord Munster's visit has been made to ascertain at first hand what can be done to improve the amenities for troops and the medical and nursing services. Both the Commander-in-Chief and myself are deeply interested in these improvements, and have

continuously endeavoured to make the most of India's resources. Lord Munster coming from England has naturally concerned himself mainly with the needs of the British troops fighting so far from their homes; but he is also representing to His Majesty's Government the requirements of Indian troops both here and in the Middle East.

India's war-time economy.

In his speech your President put post-war problems first and dealt with our war-time economy later. I propose to reverse this order; since, however important our post-war problems may be, the year of our greatest economic strain and effort may still lie ahead. The end of the war in the West will be indeed a mighty triumph over the powers of evil, but it will not be *the* end; not until the Japanese are finally and utterly defeated, can there be any peace for India or for the world. And to defeat Japan as rapidly and thoroughly as possible, India must be the base for more warships, more divisions, more air squadrons. The great war crisis for India came when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and Malaya, and she had to execute a sudden "about turn" from West to East. That brought the dislocating strain of a violent unexpected jerk, as damaging to a nation's economy as it is to the human frame. Now that we are already taking the strain, with all our muscles of production, supply, finance and transport braced, it is easier to support some additional burden, heavy though the total load will be, than it was to withstand the original abrupt shock.

Our war-time economic measures have been criticised as "too little and too late"; and it is easy to say that we should have foreseen all our troubles earlier. Accurate foresight is rare in human affairs; and even where it exists cannot always be translated into action. That was a shrewd fable of the Greeks that Cassandra who had the gift of true prophecy had also the curse of never being believed. We have now, however, fair warning of our additional burden, can measure the stress it will cause, and make ready to take it. It will of course fall on those of our economic sinews which are already subject to strain—the sinews of finance, food, coal and transport. We may examine briefly how far we are prepared to withstand any additional burden on these.

Financial position.

I was glad to hear your President say that we had met with a great measure of success during 1944 in our efforts

to hold the inflationary threat. It is men of Commerce who should be able to judge this shrewdly; and a tribute from them is satisfactory. But the strictest watch is necessary to hold off the danger; and the continued co-operation of the commercial community is essential. I have never found the word "inflation" very satisfactory; and would prefer to compare our financial danger with another national danger which we have to face in this country. You have probably heard something of a calamity which is threatening the fields in parts of Northern India, that of water-logging, due to excessive seepage of water out of the irrigation canals. It has become a very serious danger indeed in parts of the Punjab, and measures on a large scale have become necessary to combat it. The process of monetary inflation is similar. To support the war and all the war projects, more and more money has had to be poured into the financial channels. If all the residue of that money after it has done its war work, could be brought back into its parent stream by its investment in Government loans, no harm would be done. Unfortunately a considerable proportion of it seeps away out of the proper channels, and just as this overflow in the Punjab raises the whole water level with disastrous results, so in the financial parallel the overflow of money raises the price-level, also often with disastrous results. Various measures are being taken in the Punjab to combat the danger. One that would obviously be effective would be to line all the canals with cement or some imporous material to prevent the leakage of any water not absolutely necessary to irrigate the fields; this, however, is a very lengthy and expensive process, and can only be done to a limited extent. An alternative solution under trial is to pump back the water out of the soil by a very large number of small tube-wells. Our financial remedies are similar. We try to line our channels with various forms of controls, but these can never be entirely effective; and we have also a most valuable remedy in a large number of small savings with which to pump the excess of currency back into Government loans. I ask the heads of our great business houses to do everything possible to encourage lending to Government and especially the Small Savings campaign.

We realise that the commodity controls which we have gradually introduced have caused extra work and inconvenience to honest traders. The Member for Industries and Civil Supplies and his staff will always be glad to receive suggestions from the public and from trade and industrial

organisations. But until "we are built like angels not men", as Kipling says in one of his verses, we must have controls. We shall continue to strengthen and improve them, but we have to feel our way step by step; since if there is one certain lesson I have learned from experience of the direction of both military and civil affairs, it is that it is courting grave risks to go beyond one's administrative capacity.

We never cease trying by all means in our power to increase the supply of consumer goods available to the trade and to the public. In our water-logging parallel, this is roughly the equivalent of finding more thirsty unirrigated land to soak up the excess of water.

Generally the situation report on our financial front during 1944 is that we have not only held our own, but have gained some ground in the matter of price control. But the increasing needs of the war against Japan, which is likely to reach its peak in 1945, mean that there will be an increased flow of financial irrigation, and that our defences against water-logging must be strengthened.

Food.

The great Latin satirist Juvenal wrote of the miseries of having served up to one "Crambe repetita", twice-cooked cabbage. The food problem has been debated in such detail in so many places that I will try not to weary you here with much repetition of the stale cabbage of stock arguments, though I am afraid I have no caviare, asparagus or other delicacy to serve in its place.

I was glad to hear your appreciation of the work done by the Food Department, and I take this opportunity of saying that I think that the Food Member and his staff have done a very fine job of work during 1944. As is inevitable in such a difficult task, they get more hard words than kind ones, and they will be grateful for your recognition. I think they deserve a bouquet, not a mere button-hole. I may add that I have been told by them of the help they have received from large employers of labour and from the members of these Chambers of Commerce.

I agree with you that the complaints about the quality of grains supplied to deficit Provinces have often been well-founded and require the attention of both the Central and Provincial Governments. These defects of quality have sometimes been aggravated by inadequate storage arrangements. I am trying to have both these defects remedied.

Some progress has been made, but there is much more still to be done.

During the critical period of 1943, Provincial Governments had to concentrate mainly on foodgrains. Man may be able to live by bread alone, but he will surely not be healthy on it; and I am glad to see that they are now trying to improve the supply and distribution of milk, fish, meat, eggs, poultry and other perishable goods. I know that it is the fashion to attribute the shortage of these articles mainly to the Army, who are sometimes pilloried almost as if they were cattle-lifters, nest-egg robbers, chicken thieves, and fish poachers. I would say on the contrary, as an almost entirely unprejudiced observer, that the Army is doing much to show us civilians how to increase our supply of these articles of diet. The Army's dairy farms have long been a model, and they are now setting up poultry and vegetable farms and refrigerating plant on a large scale.

The food problem is by no means solved and will be with us for some years after the war. But there are grounds for far greater confidence than a year ago; and with the co-operation of the public I hope that all will be well. Bengal is in a much happier position, convalescent at least if not wholly recovered; and at present our anxieties are more in the south of India. Now that imports of wheat are arriving at a steady rate and in satisfactory quantity, it is rice shortage that is our main trouble; and you are well aware of the difficulty in inducing rice-eating populations to consume wheat or other grains. I hope therefore that Provincial Governments will do their best to persuade all their people who are, so to speak, bilingual in wheat and rice to eat wheat only; and that those who use rice only as a luxury—and there are many such, British and Indians—will forego rice so as to make more available for those who cannot do without it.

As has already been announced, it should not be necessary, in view of the position in Bengal, for the Central Government to accept any longer the entire liability for the feeding of Calcutta. This does not mean of course that they will not be concerned to assure full supplies for Calcutta; but it will probably be unnecessary to draw all these supplies from outside Bengal. It would obviously be wrong and wasteful to transport much needed rice from outside Bengal to Calcutta, while the Bengal Government held large stocks.

Transportation.

It was on our transportation system more severely than on anything else that the sudden jerk of our "about turn" at the end of 1941 fell. We had been facing west, quite fairly comfortably; and had been exporting locomotives, rolling stock and track to Iraq and elsewhere, while our railway workshops were urged to make munitions and undertake other war work. I can remember that not long after I became Commander-in-Chief in India in July 1941, I explained to a conference of the railway chiefs the need for this and the great help it had been to the Middle East. So that it was through their virtue not through their fault that the railways were caught not fully prepared. The difficulties of the sudden reversal caused by the Japanese attack were accentuated by the poorness of the communications in the threatened part of India.

I can assure you that a comprehensive programme to improve the capacity of the railways is in hand. Large numbers of broad and metre gauge locomotives have been ordered, and many have been received. Very large orders have been placed both in India and abroad for wagons. The entire capacity of India for fabricating railway material is fully employed, and the fabricators—who are, I understand, mostly constituents of the Chambers represented at the meeting—can help by expediting the work as much as possible. Nearly 20,000 miles of new telephone and telegraph line have been added to the Railway network, and radio-communication between Headquarters and Divisions has been introduced. Additional running staffs have been trained; and in the railway workshops maintenance has been given the highest priority, to the exclusion where necessary of war work.

This programme should produce substantial results next year. In the meantime we are doing our best under the priority system to see that essential goods are moved without undue delay.

I am aware of the difficult conditions of passenger travel. The fact, however, that the number of passengers travelling has increased by about 20 million a month, or 36 per cent., since the early part of 1942—and this in spite of a "travel only when you must" campaign—shows that the conditions do not deter passengers. It is a little difficult to believe that all these journeys are absolutely essential.

In view of the shortage of coal and the requirements of the Army for coaching stock—not that the Army travels in

any greater comfort than the general public, judging from what I sometimes hear in leave camps that I visit—any rapid improvement is impossible. But the Railways are doing their best. I will take this opportunity to thank all railwaymen for their fine service in the war. I was glad recently at Lahore to see some of them at work and shall hope to visit other railway centres.

Coal.

The coal position has, as Mr. Mealing indicated, been a considerable headache to the Government of India throughout the past year. I need not enter into the causes, nor detail the steps which are being taken to remedy them, as I think they are well known to you.

It is an inappropriate phrase, but I think it is true that the outlook is less black than it was. Production throughout 1944, though below our target, has been greater, month by month, than the corresponding figures for 1943. We have succeeded in obtaining a considerable amount of machinery for open-cut working; and I trust that there will be a real improvement during the early months of 1945. In fact, to use two more clichés wholly inappropriate to coal mining, though we are not yet out of the wood we are beginning to see daylight.

I have paid two short visits to the coalfields and have seen something of the conditions. It is doubtful if the mining industry will ever be stable or contented until a real effort is made to establish a permanent labour force in good conditions. The suspension of the ban on women working underground—which the Government of India sanctioned temporarily and with extreme reluctance—was necessitated mainly by the tendency of the labour to migrate. The miner has a hard and sometimes a dangerous life, and the counter-attractions of surface work in which his wife could take part and earn a wage were too much for him. If we are to produce all the coal we need for industrial development after the war, it must be worth a man's while to become a whole-time miner; even after the ban on women working below ground has been re-imposed.

Post-War Problems.

So much for India's current economic problems. From the brief review you have had of them by your President from his commercial angle and by myself from my official point of view, I trust you will have gathered confidence in

our ability to keep the economic front stable, and in fact to strengthen it, until Japan is beaten. If so, India will be in a very favourable position to face the problems of the post-war world.

Her land has not been devastated; her losses in personnel have been comparatively light, even if we reckon the deaths in the Bengal famine as war casualties; these war losses have been more than balanced, taking a purely utilitarian point of view, by the numbers of her people who have received technical training as a result of the war; financially she has become a creditor instead of a debtor country. In terms of property, of manpower, and of money, India has gained during the war years rather than lost. Look for a moment at our great Eastern neighbour, China; with half her country occupied by a ruthless invader, her ports seized, her railways torn up, her population reduced by war and famine, her prices at a fantastic level of inflation. Consider Great Britain, with one out of every three houses destroyed or damaged, more than 11½ million tons of shipping sunk (the very life-blood of an Island State); more than one quarter of a million lives already lost out of a population of 45 million; her great accumulated wealth gone with the wind and enormous debts piled up, her people paying willingly—almost cheerfully—a scale of taxation unparalleled in history.

If you look on these two nations, you will realise what sacrifices they have made to free the world from the valley of the shadow of evil, from the greatest menace that civilization has faced since the days of Genghiz Khan and Timurlane. Look at Russia, with the enemy at one time almost within sight of her capital, with her most fertile fields and most valuable sources of industry at one time in enemy occupation, with a large proportion of her population at the mercy of the enemy—a merciless mercy. These countries, even when they seemed beaten to their knees, faced the perils of war undaunted, and will face the perils of peace with the same courage. India should both give thanks that the efforts of these nations have saved her from experiencing the devastation of war, which she—almost alone of great peoples—has not felt for so many years; and should determine to use wisely the marvellous opportunity thus given her for development to a higher standard of living and progress.

I do not propose to enter into details of our post-war planning. As men of business, you will realise the possibilities and the difficulties. I will deal only with two broad

aspects—the relations between agriculture and industry and the financial problems.

Before doing so I should like to supplement what your President has said to welcome the appointment of Sir Ardeshir Dalal. The Government of India has been fortunate indeed to secure the services of one who is not only a most distinguished industrialist but has experience as an administrator both of rural and of urban India. I am sure that we all appreciate the sacrifices he has made in taking on this very arduous work; and wish him all success in his efforts for the progress of India.

Agriculture and Industry.

Though it does not arise directly out of Mr. Mealing's address, I should like to make a few remarks on the relative importance of agriculture and industry in the post-war development of India. I feel that there may be a tendency in our plans to stress industrial advance at the expense of agriculture. There is some reason for this. Industrialization shows quicker and more obvious results, enriches a country and enables it to spend more, both on luxuries and on social services, such as health, education and communications. Also, I am afraid, men of business have more influence than farmers in the direction of State affairs. But industrial expansion should not, and must not in India be accomplished at the expense of agriculture, which is still the employment of about three quarters of the ever-rising population. It is essential that in your post-war organization the Indian farmer should be assured of prices for his produce that will both improve his own standard of living and will encourage him to produce the additional food needed for the proper nutrition of the existing population and of its normal growth.

If you read economic history, you should also take warning of the miseries caused to many for the profit of a few by too rapid and uncontrolled industrialization. In Great Britain, one hundred years ago, the conditions produced by the industrial revolution were deplorable. I read some time ago a description of the manufacturing slums of the Victorian era, which painted the evils of the period with a ghastly pen; we are still recovering from the damage caused to the health and well-being of our working population by the neglect of sanitary, nutritive and housing conditions during that era.

Russia is another example of rapid industrialization, where although the mistakes and cruelties of the Victorian

period in England were avoided, and the workers were given reasonably good conditions, there was a very great loss of human life, to be counted in millions, partly through loss of balance between agriculture and industry.

India cannot go back to the spinning wheel, and must develop her industry, but she should consider well these and other examples of the price that may be paid in human health and life for too hasty or too greedy industrialization.

The financing of progress such as India must make is a very complex problem. One fact is inescapable. If you want progress—and India not only wants it but must have it—you have got to pay for it. No financial jugglery can produce for a nation in the long run greater wealth than that with which it has been endowed by nature in resources of minerals and such like, or which the skill, enterprise and hard work of its population have earned. It is the business of a nation's financial advisers to see that its wealth is fully mobilised, wisely used and so distributed as to benefit the greatest possible number of the population. They cannot create additional permanent wealth; though they can by a bold financial policy make for a limited period overdrafts on the annual income of the Government to finance projects which will eventually increase the national wealth and enable the overdrafts to be repaid. By their policy of taxation the heads of the Government can prevent the profits of industry becoming concentrated in the hands of the few and from being used for luxury rather than to finance further progress. But they have no magician's wands, no sleek rabbits of sudden additional wealth in the hat. The prosaic tools of their trade are income-tax tables, slide-rules and books of financial regulations. Hard work, hard sober thinking and sound judgment are the qualities by which they obtain results, not conjuring tricks.

In the old canons of so-called orthodox finance the budget had to be balanced from year to year. This is the view of monetary stability that Dickens put into the mouth of his famous character, Mr. Micawber: "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings and six pence, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds and six pence, result misery." But I understand that Mr. Micawber's views are no longer wholly accepted by financial experts. They now admit the soundness of planning for five, ten or even fifteen years ahead. But remember this, if you are going to plan ahead, you must have confidence in the stability of your Government for at least that number of

years; and you must realise that the bill has got to be paid some time.

Our immediate difficulty in planning is to estimate what sums are likely to be available in the period after the war. There is a natural tendency on the part of Provinces to seek information from the Centre on the amount they may expect to be allotted to them from Central Revenues; and an equally natural reluctance on the part of the Centre to commit itself to definite figures when there are so many uncertain and incalculable factors. We will do what we can to give guidance to the Provinces; but for the immediate future our system of planning must be to see what we require for each of our many needs: for improvements in agriculture, for developments in industry, for the betterment of health, for the advance of education, for the increase of communications, and so on. This is the method on which we are working; we have already a plan for Education, a plan for Roads, and shall shortly have a plan for Public Health, when the Bhore Committee reports. We have many hydro-electric and irrigation projects in hand. Once we have seen the total bill, we can—when we have recovered from the shock—begin to allot priorities, and make a long-term blue-print for Indian progress.

One direction, however, in which it seems to me that we can make progress at once, without waiting for peace or for blue-print, is in training the many technicians and experts India will require—in farming, in engineering, in electricity, in chemistry, in fisheries, in building, and so forth. It has been very patently brought home to me even in a year's experience as Viceroy, how woefully short India is not only in persons trained in the applied sciences but in institutions and facilities for training them. I hope that young India will apply its abilities and energies towards these practical branches which will be of such value to India; and possibly a little less to the profession of the law, in which I understand India is already quite reasonably well staffed.

One uncertain factor in the finance of post-war planning is, as you will realise, the scale of post-war taxation. India may be a poor country, but I do not believe she is unbearably bowed down at the present by war taxation. I hope that when the war against Japan is over, India will decide to declare war—relentless, unremitting war, with the whole nation united—against the savage enemies of peace; poverty, disease, dirt, ignorance. If so, she will have to maintain a war scale of taxation.

Before I leave this subject of post-war development, I will mention very briefly two points. The first, which was mentioned by your President, is the matter of sterling balances. I share his entire confidence that these debts will be honoured. But that does not of course mean to say that India will at once after the war receive a payment of so many hundred millions in cash. She could not spend such a sum in the international market if she did. The manner of payment of international debts incurred during the war will require much discussion and negotiation. I am quite confident that in these negotiations, the value and magnitude of India's contribution to the Allied war effort will be recognised; that her needs will be considered; and that the manner of liquidation will be arranged to meet her planned development. I do not see that political considerations need affect the settlement.

The other matter on which I should like to say a very few words is the relations between British and Indians in business. As I said here last year, I believe there is a cordial spirit of co-operation towards Indian business at present in Great Britain; and the sooner that representatives get together the better. I am therefore sorry that it has not yet been possible for the projected visit of Indian industrialists to the United Kingdom to be carried out. I hope that it will not be delayed much longer.

The Political Problem.

From the foregoing very brief summary of India's position and problems at the end of 1944, I will try to draw one or two conclusions.

Firstly, we are still in the turmoil of a world at war, an angry world in which there is no place for unrealities. We are winning the war, but we have not yet won it and there can be no relaxation of the war effort. In fact India may have to play an even more important and perhaps even more onerous rôle in 1945. The more closely we concentrate on this our primary task, the more quickly shall we come to peace. Everything else must still be subordinate to our war effort.

But peace will not and certainly should not bring for India any relaxation of effort. We shall have beaten off the external powers of evil, we have still many internal evils to lessen or remove and very much constructive work to do, in order to bring the peoples of India to a proper standard of living and India herself to her proper position in the

world, as keeper of the peace and as a leader of prosperity, thought and learning in the East.

I have given you some reasons to conclude that the war has strengthened rather than weakened India and has given her the greatest opportunity she has ever had, if.....

If—and this is of course a crucial if—India can solve her political problems and present a united front to what will be, for at least some years to come, a stern, difficult, troubled world. If she is still tossing with the fever of political faction, or if her political doctors decide that she must undergo a major surgical operation such as Pakistan, she may miss the opportunity that is hers to take, but can be taken only by a nation at health within itself and fit for a struggle that will test every nerve and sinew—the struggle for greater well-being and greater happiness in this great land.

Whatever the future constitution may be, the events of the past thirty years have shown us that it must provide adequately for the defence of the country; and Indian leaders will do well to consider this closely.

If I may be permitted to assume for the moment the rôle of medical adviser to political India, my advice would be something like this. "I do not believe that your condition calls for a serious operation, I should certainly try all other possible remedies first. But I do not think that that 'Quit India' mixture or those *Satyagraha* pills have done you much good. I should suggest your leaving off medicines altogether, and you may find that you are not as ill as you think. Perhaps some fresh air and work in the fields would do you good." In other words, I do not believe that there are now real differences in principle between India and Britain, or that the communal problem, difficult though it is, is insoluble. But also I do not believe that we can solve our problems by mutual recriminations and by harping on past grievances and mistakes. Our best hope lies in working together, without trying to lay down detailed conditions or to decide everything before we begin work. To return to the medical metaphor for a moment, I think the first requirement for a return to health is a faith cure, a belief in the good intentions of the British people and in their genuine desire for a settlement and for the welfare and self-government of the Indian people. I can certainly assure you that I should not be here if I did not believe in those.

It is commonly said that our current and post-war problems can only be solved by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term is seldom or never defined. I am afraid that to some a National Government may mean a government in which their own particular party is in power. I think of a National Government as one formed to meet a national crisis, in which "none are for a party but all are for the State", to quote Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome".

I contend that we have such Government now, a preponderantly Indian government, which in spite of all the criticism and abuse heaped on it is doing an essential job of work for India, and is doing it on the whole extremely well. It is making the mistakes, it is showing the shortcomings, inevitable in carrying out a very complex task of administration in difficult times. But it is accomplishing the main tasks: it is supporting our war effort to the entire satisfaction of the military commanders; and it is making a genuine and not unfruitful attempt to look ahead and prepare for post-war conditions. I think India should be grateful to her countrymen in the Government for the courage and skill they are showing. I here express to them my thanks for their work.

This does not mean to say that some other National Government—national by my definition, but based on the support of the main political parties—might not be more serviceable to India's needs. Not because such a Government would necessarily be more efficient than the present government, but because the efforts we have to make, now and in the future, demand considerable sacrifices. The average man is not willing to surrender comfort and income for the benefit of those poorer than himself or of future generations, unless he is coerced by a dictatorship, or led by those in whom he has great confidence. If it were possible to form such a National Government during the war, it would quite clearly and quite definitely have to function under the existing Constitution, no material change of which is possible during the war. And its primary task would have to be support of the war effort, not by mere lip-service which is useless, but sincerely and whole-heartedly.

It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by His Majesty's Government "to solve the deadlock". But remember that His Majesty's Government has made two attempts in the last decade. The first was the Constitution Act of 1935—a complete constitution based on years of discussion and research. I agree with Mr. Mealing

that had that Act been worked in the right spirit, it would have carried us far, in fact I think we should now be near the goal. The second attempt was the draft declaration propounded by Sir Stafford Cripps. Both attempts failed.

After the second failure, His Majesty's Government said they could do no more and that India herself must make a constructive suggestion. No such suggestion has yet emerged; and the recent discussion between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah shows how intractable the communal problem still is. I am glad to see that prominent Indians are undertaking further discussion of the problem.

The previous rejections of their offers must naturally make His Majesty's Government chary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it.

Gentlemen, I am afraid I have detained you unduly. I hope I have been able to give you on the whole a favourable impression—in all but the political field—of the progress of our affairs during 1944 and of our prospects for 1945. I will conclude in the words of one of the greatest war leaders and statesmen of all time, Abraham Lincoln:

"The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion."

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE HALLETT HOSPITAL, CAWNPORE, ON 16TH DECEMBER
1944.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My wife and I are very glad to have been able to come to Cawnpore for this occasion. We only wish our stay in your great and rising city, which has done so much work for the armed forces, could have been longer. I remember that on the last occasion when I came here, as Commander-in-Chief, I opened some new laboratories for scientific research on problems of military equipment. Today I open another example of the progress and enterprise of Cawnpore, this time in the interests of peace rather than of war. In the intervening period I have myself, rather regretfully, been converted from the purposes of war to those of peace.

I do not propose to re-congratulate all those whom His Excellency the Governor has already congratulated. It is

quite obvious that much hard work and devotion has gone to the making of this fine building, which will greatly enhance the reputation of its young architect, Mr. Sharma. I will simply felicitate Cawnpore on obtaining this great addition to its civic needs; and I am sure that Cawnpore recognises with gratitude the initiative and energy of His Excellency the Governor and of other able citizens, which has resulted in this project being so rapidly and effectively executed.

Make no mistake though hospitals, even the best and largest, are to some extent a confession of weakness. They mean that we have failed to control public health at its source. You will have noticed that there is no complacency in the Governor's speech and that he and his Government recognise how very much there is to be done in the field of public health, medical education, medicine and nursing. Many projects are under preparation, to control malaria, to improve sanitation and water supplies, to found maternity clinics and to develop preventive measures of all kinds. Science is making new discoveries in preventive medicine every day and we must not be content in India with less than the latest and best. There is an immense amount of work to be done, and I am glad to see that your Government in this Province is planning on broad lines and is under no delusions as to the magnitude of the task. But ultimate success will depend on public support, on public insistence, and on public willingness to submit to the taxation necessary to meet the cost.

The great plans which are afoot for the further industrialization of India, which I warmly welcome, have grave dangers. Industrial development, unless you are very careful, means slums; and slums mean disease and misery. We know this only too well from our early experiences of the industrialisation of England a hundred years or so ago. I hope that your Improvement Trust in Cawnpore will receive all possible public support in its essential work. The best efforts of Public Health experts can be set at naught by bad housing conditions, such as exist already in parts of Cawnpore today. Your population has probably doubled during the war, and the public health problems common to all great Indian cities must have been greatly accentuated.

The infantile mortality rate in Cawnpore in 1943 was over 350 per 1,000 live births. This is much above the urban rate for the United Provinces as a whole which is 209, and the rate for the urban and rural areas of the Province taken together which is about 135. In Australia,

the comparable rate is under 40 and in the United Kingdom under 60. These are terrible facts which reflect credit on none and discredit on many, past and present. But they are facts which must be faced; and no good citizen should be unaware of them or indifferent to the need of improvement. If you really want improvement and insist on it, it will be forthcoming. It will be expensive; but nothing is so expensive and ruinous to a nation as disease, dirt and misery which can be avoided.

I have put these remarks on prevention of disease in the front line of my address because the subject is of such vital importance. I will now return to your new hospital, which is to cure such disease as cannot be prevented. In speaking of it and of its mission to heal the sick, I propose to confine myself to one subject, that of nursing, the improvement of which I regard as of vital importance to India. As I have told you, we suffered untold miseries in England when we turned to industrialization without proper care for the health of our workers, and our experience should be a warning to India. The story of the birth of a nursing service in England has also a lesson for India. It is mainly the story of a great and noble woman. When your Governor laid the foundation-stone of this hospital last year, he mentioned the name of Florence Nightingale. Though her history may be familiar to many of you, it will bear retelling. She was born in 1820 and grew up in a well-to-do old-fashioned English family. She was expected to lead the quiet domestic life of a well-bred girl in the prosperous 19th century; to marry some young squire and to raise a large family. But from early days she showed an interest, which at that time was considered odd and almost unnatural, in nursing and the alleviation of pain. Nursing was still regarded in England as a menial employment for which neither training nor intelligence was required. But Florence Nightingale was far ahead of her time. In spite of her parents' opposition, she missed no opportunity of visiting hospitals, of undergoing training and of fitting herself for what she felt to be her vocation. By 1854 when the Crimean War broke out, she had unique knowledge and experience; and this fact happened to be known to the Secretary of State for War, who was a friend of her family. When the British medical arrangements in the Crimea broke down, the Government appealed to her and at seven days' notice she set sail for the Crimea with a band of women whom she had persuaded to assist with the nursing in the great military hospital at Scutari.

After long struggles in the most appalling conditions she achieved a large measure of reform, saved many lives, and earned the gratitude of the whole army. She returned home to England to find herself a national heroine. But the only form of recognition she would accept, apart from a brooch presented to her by Queen Victoria, was the formation of a Nightingale Fund to found a School of Nursing.

The achievements of Florence Nightingale were due first to a refusal to accept as inevitable the standards that prevailed round her. Dirt and disease did not make her shrug her shoulders, they roused her anger. "I do well to be angry" was the burden of her reports from the Crimea. And secondly she would not admit defeat. When she was told by the highest authority that "it cannot be done", she used to reply quietly "But it must be done"; and it was.

This great woman founded the profession of nursing in England and broke through much prejudice and ignorance and indifference to do it. It can hardly be denied that there is the same fine work to be done in India. This new hospital of yours will never be a complete success without an adequate and assured supply of educated, trained and devoted nurses. Nurses, many of them British, have done and are doing splendid and selfless work in hospitals all over India; but there is always a shortage, always a strain, always more work than the staff can handle. In so far as any social system makes it difficult for women to be educated or to take up humanitarian work like nursing, that system surely stands condemned. Many appeals have already been made for Indian women to join the nursing profession: and I and my wife shall continue to appeal. I know that it will need pioneers among Indian women, brave enterprising spirits, like Florence Nightingale, to bring about the change we should all like to see.

You will forgive me I am sure for not having confined my remarks to the compliments and congratulations which are richly deserved. The dark side of the picture is too serious to be disregarded and it does no good to conceal the truth. A strong committee under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore is now examining the problems of medical relief and public health, and when its report is received early next year we shall have a full and authoritative statement of India's needs. But these needs will not be met unless public opinion demands that they should be, and is prepared to pay the cost. In the general attitude

towards public health problems I should like to see in India more of the "divine discontent" that was in Florence Nightingale.

My wife and I are most grateful to you for your reception of us here today. This hospital, called by the name of one who has devoted a long career to the service of India, is a worthy first instalment towards the war on disease that I am sure this great city will continue to wage. I have great pleasure in declaring open the Hallett Hospital; and in asking you all, whatever your creed, to join with me to invoke a blessing on the work for humanity of this hospital, and of all who will work in it, doctors, nurses, and other staff.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE TRANSPORT
ADVISORY COUNCIL ON 12TH JANUARY 1945.

"Transportation is Civilization."

In a story Kipling wrote many years ago about a future world happily free of war and of politics, human affairs were controlled by an international board whose motto was the above dictum. It has somehow stuck in my memory ever since; and the more experience I have had of both peace and war, the more I appreciate its general truth. After some years in high military command, I am inclined to put forward as a parallel dictum that "War is Transportation". Certainly it is the ruling factor in military operations; and no campaign has better illustrated this than that on the North-East frontier of India and in the north of Burma.

In peace I am quite clear that the improvement of communications has always led the way in social progress. It was this belief that caused me to say in my first public speech as Viceroy more than a year ago at Calcutta:—

"I do not see how it is possible to effect any great improvement in health or education in the villages of India until they can be reached surely and quickly at all times."

Nor in fact can one decide on the number of schools, or dispensaries and hospitals required for a district until the means of movement in that district are determined and known. Thus it seems to me that the first step in all the schemes for the social progress of which India is in such desperate need, and which are now so much under public discussion, must be the improvement of the means of

communication; not only the main roads, but the minor district and village roads. Again, in any big agricultural or economic undertaking such as an irrigation or hydro-electric project the making of roads is almost invariably a first requirement.

So that I regard this conference as in many ways the whole foundation of the planning for India's social and economic progress. On the whole, conditions in India, in physical features and climate, are favourable to the development of road transport; but the size of the country and the distances make the problem an immense if not a particularly complicated one. The new feature which has to be considered in our present scheme of road development is the motor vehicle. Although motor transport has long since established itself in other countries, in India up to the beginning of this war motor transport played a minor part in the general system of communication. India had no motor industry of her own; and her well-developed railway system was generally speaking sufficient for the needs of those who wished to travel fast, while the bullock cart still remained the normal vehicle of the countryside and matched the pace of life and business there. After the war it must be expected that motor vehicles will play a far larger part. There are likely to be many vehicles and many drivers available almost at once from the military organisation; and if Indian Agriculture and Indian Business are to take full advantage of their opportunities, they must be prepared to make a greater use of mechanical transport.

I have so far spoken of roads only, but you have of course to consider the railways as well, and I presume air transport also so far as it may affect your problems of road and rail. The relations between roads and railways will be one of your main problems. I do not propose to go into the arguments on this problem but it is of the utmost importance that the Council should reach definite conclusions on this question of co-ordination. We must at all costs avoid the difficulties and disputes which uncontrolled exploitation of road transport brought in the United Kingdom in the years after the last war. What form the relationship between railways and roads should take is for you to consider. There are three interests involved which will have to be reconciled: the interests of the public, who require convenient transport for passengers and goods at a reasonable rate; the interests of the railways which, for reasons of which you are aware, are at some disadvantage in competing with road transport and may be subjected to

severe loss, a loss which in India would fall on State revenues; and the interests of those enterprising people who are prepared to undertake the provision of services of road transport. How far State control should go, and how it can best reconcile these three interests will be a subject of your deliberations.

The needs of war have produced certain developments in road construction; and both the Central and Provincial Governments will have to consider how far military methods of work and organization may be applicable; it may be advisable to take over some of the work companies that have been formed for military purposes and use them in some kind of quasi-military organisation for the civil purpose of road improvement. I understand that the methods of organisation of road construction used in Australia may be of considerable interest, since Australia has great experience of road-making on a scale and over distances comparable with the Indian problem.

You will also have to consider how to control the traffic and upkeep on the roads after they have been constructed; this will obviously involve inter-provincial arrangements, and probably a common policy to be laid down by the Centre. Road transport arrangements in India, with a very few notable exceptions, are still almost primitive. The lorries that ply on the main roads are very seldom clean, safe, comfortable or punctual. But there is no reason why they should not be so and it is up to the Provinces to establish a strong Provincial authority, get the lorry traffic into the hands of reliable and resourceful organisations and provide a proper service for the public.

Finally, there will be what is usually the most difficult problem of all, the question of how to finance the great programme of road construction which is needed; and how to apportion the cost between the Centre and the Provinces. In most countries the principle is adopted that the users of roads should pay for their construction and upkeep by means of a tax on the means of locomotion, a tax on the vehicle itself and a tax on the petrol it consumes. I think it is obvious that in such a large country as India with such a great programme to undertake this principle may not provide an entirely satisfactory basis for the financing of road construction and maintenance, and the problem may have to be considered in the context of the general financial resources available for development.

The great thing is to get something moving as soon as possible, since the problem of communications seems to me to be the whole basis of India's social and economic advance, which we are all so anxious to forward.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL, AT BAGHMARA,
18TH JANUARY 1945.

I thank Your Highness for the warm words of goodwill and understanding you have spoken, which are in accordance with the long traditions of friendship existing between Great Britain and Nepal. I will certainly convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor and His Majesty's Government your messages of goodwill.

As a soldier I have good reason to know and to appreciate the value of Nepal's generous aid during this war as during the last. Nepal is no fairweather friend but has stood by us as staunchly in the days of adversity as she has rejoiced with us in the days of success. We appreciate such steadfast friendship.

The record of the Gurkha troops in this war, and the number of rewards they have won, which include no fewer than 8 Victoria Crosses, shows that they have fought with their usual great courage and skill. The Commander-in-Chief and myself have been impressed with the good quality of the recruits still coming forward in spite of the heavy drain on the manhood of your small country. I am also glad to hear of the success of Your Highness' Nepalese Contingent in the Burma fighting.

As Commander-in-Chief and as Viceroy I have had some correspondence with Your Highness and have learnt to recognise the cordial and ready co-operation you have always afforded in all matters. It has been a real pleasure to meet Your Highness and to reinforce that feeling by personal friendship. I am rejoiced to find Your Highness in such good health and spirits, and able to finish a day's sport as fresh and as keen as any of my As.-D.C.

On behalf of my wife and myself and all my staff I thank you most warmly for the splendid hospitality and wonderful sport you have shown us, which have made this visit to Nepal an unforgettable experience. The admirable efficiency of all the arrangements made both in camp and in the field have much impressed us, and I would ask Your Highness to convey our deep appreciation

of them to all concerned. I know that Your Highness has yourself taken a great personal interest in the arrangements. I am sorry that the untimely rains should have added to your anxieties, but any difficulties they caused have certainly been overcome.

I will now ask all those present to express our grateful thanks by drinking Your Highness' health.

ADDRESS TO 7TH RAJPUTS, AT NOWSHERA ON THE 23RD
JANUARY 1945.

It has given me great pleasure to present new colours to one of the most distinguished battalions in the Indian Army: at a time when the reputation of the Indian Army all over the world stands higher than ever before in its long and honourable history.

The colours of a battalion not only enshrine the history and glories of that particular battalion, but are a symbol to all soldiers of the great and honourable traditions of their service—courage, loyalty, self-sacrifice, good comradeship. These are noble qualities, as essential in peace as in war if a nation is to prosper and to survive. When the time comes, I am sure that you will carry into civil life the lessons you have learnt in the Army and the traditions of right service which your colours inspire.

I need say little of the exploits which are blazoned on your colours, you know their story better than I do. Their record tells of two things: the great part that this unit has played in welding India into one mighty whole; and that in defence of this Indian motherland it has fought on all her land frontiers, to the west, to the north-west, to the east. The memories of those victories will inspire you to keep the land inviolate for the future.

Some fine soldiers who have risen to high rank have served in this regiment, including one, Sir Henry Norman, who but for the accident of ill-health would have been the first to be Field-Marshal and Viceroy. It is fitting that there should have been brought up in this regiment the first Indian Commander of this Indian Army to have won high rank in the field Brigadier Kariappa. He will be, I am sure, the forerunner of many more.

May these colours remain to you symbols of your loyalty and courage: records of a gallant and glorious past, promises of a great and glorious future.

BROADCAST SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AT
NEW DELHI ON 14TH JUNE 1945.

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of Central and Provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems. It would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover Members will now be selected by

the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be:—

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:

Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government; or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on 25th June at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depends on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present; thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at International conferences have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do. there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S OPENING REMARKS TO THE LEADERS CONFERENCE ON 25TH JUNE 1945.

Before we begin on the agenda of this Conference, the outcome of which will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India, I feel there are a few words I should say to you.

First, I welcome you all as men who by character and ability have risen to leadership in your Provinces and parties. I have called you together from all parts of India, at this critical moment in her history, to advise and help me in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness. I ask you to give me that help in a spirit of broad co-operation towards the good of India as a whole.

It is not a constitutional settlement, it is not a final solution of India's complex problems that is proposed. Nor does the plan in any way prejudice or prejudice the final issue. But if it succeeds, I am sure it will pave the way towards a settlement; and will bring it nearer.

The statesmanship, wisdom and goodwill of all of us is here on trial, not merely in the eyes of India but before the world. I said in my broadcast that on all sides there was something to forgive and forget. We have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities, and of party and sectional advantage; and think of the good of India, the good of 400 million people; and how we can best combine to implement these new proposals made by His Majesty's Government for the advancement of India, now and in the future. It will not be easy, and unless we can place our deliberations at a high common level, we shall not succeed.

You must accept my leadership for the present. Until there is some agreed change in the constitution I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good government and tranquillity of India. I ask you to believe in me as a sincere friend of India. I will endeavour to guide the discussions of this Conference in what I believe to be the best interests of this country.

On the column which stands in front of the Viceroy's House crowned by the Star of India, are engraved these words: "In Thought Faith, In Word Wisdom, In Deed Courage, In Life Service, so may India be great." They will make a good guide for our Conference.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SECOND ADDRESS TO THE
SIMLA CONFERENCE, ON 25TH JUNE 1945.

1. The Secretary of State's announcement and my broadcast on the proposals are in the hands of Members of the Conference. They have been collated in a special manner for purposes of comparison.

2. I propose to begin by going through them in order to ascertain that there are no doubts about the scope and intention of the proposals. Before we discuss them in detail, we must be clear about their general principles and are thinking along the same lines. I do not want at this stage to discuss the merits or demerits of the proposals, simply to ascertain that the meaning is quite clear. You will have an opportunity to discuss the general principles of the proposals later.

3. I propose to say a few words by way of introduction.

As I have already said, these proposals are not intended in any way as a substitute for the final goal of Indian self-government, they are intended as a step towards it. They

are put forward since recent events have shown that agreement between Indians on the constitutional issue is not at present possible, in the hope that working together on common problems may make the approach to a final settlement easier.

You are all aware of the immense problems in front of India, both at home and abroad, apart from the war with Japan. As I said in a speech in Calcutta last December, these problems require for solution political leadership, and this is what the proposals are intended to provide.

The proposals also have in mind that Political India has so concentrated upon her internal troubles that the importance of her position in the outside world has been neglected. For all our troubles, and although in many respects backward by western standards, we are well ahead of our neighbours in Asia, and have a right to a position as a leading Asiatic Power, and as such amongst the most important countries of the world. India has a great part to play in the world at large, in Industry, and the Arts, in Science and Philosophy, as well as International affairs. Here again, political leadership is needed. India must speak with one voice abroad.

The proposals imply a change of outlook on the part of all of us, amounting almost to a revolution, if we accept them we must be determined to sink party differences and to establish at the Centre an Executive Council—a real National Government where none are for a party and all are for the State—pledged to win the war and to undertake a great programme of social and economic reform. For that it is absolutely essential that the parties must send to the Executive Council their very best men, who alone can give the decisive leadership we need. If we are to be effective as a Government, our relations inside it must be close and friendly. There are plenty of critics inside India and outside who have said and who continue to say that the proposals are impracticable, because the Viceroy will not refrain from meddling, because Hindus and Muslims will be unable to agree, because the smaller minorities will be uneasy and hostile, because the Central Government will be unable to work as a team. I believe that we can prove the critics wrong, and do a great work for India; as far as I am concerned I will give all the help and co-operation that I can.

We have also to consider the Provinces, where the same sincere determination to co-operate in a common programme is needed. Both at the Centre and in the Provinces

we have got to remember the interests of the minorities who are not represented here; Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and others. It will be wise to treat them sympathetically and generously.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT TO THE SIMLA CONFERENCE, ON 14TH JULY 1945.

I must give the Conference an account of what has happened since we adjourned on 29th June. As you know, my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and that thereafter parties should send me lists of names. To these lists I would, if necessary, have added names of my own, and attempted to form on paper an Executive Council which might be acceptable to His Majesty's Government, myself, and the Conference. I intended to discuss my selections with the leaders, and finally to put them to the Conference.

2. Unfortunately, the Conference was unable to agree about the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and on the 29th June I undertook, with the approval of the Conference, to endeavour to produce a solution not based on any formula agreed in advance. I asked the parties to let me have lists of names, and said I would do what I could to produce a solution acceptable to the leaders and to the Conference.

3. I received lists from all parties represented here except from the European Group, who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League. I was, however, determined that the Conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending. I therefore made my provisional selections including certain Muslim League names, and I have every reason to believe that if these selections had been acceptable here they would have been acceptable to His Majesty's Government.

4. My selections would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council, whose composition would have been reasonably fair to all the parties. I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any party in full. When I explained my solution to Mr. Jinnah he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League, and he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue

the discussions. In the circumstances I did not show my selections as a whole to Mr. Jinnah, and there was no object in showing them to the other leaders.

5. The Conference has therefore failed. Nobody can regret this more than I do myself. I wish to make it clear that the responsibility for the failure is mine. The main idea underlying the Conference was mine. If it had succeeded, its success would have been attributed to me, and I cannot place the blame for its failure upon any of the parties. I ask the party leaders to accept this view, and to do all they can to ensure that there are no recriminations. It is of the utmost importance that this effort to secure agreement between the parties and communities should not result in a worsening of communal feeling. I ask you all to exercise the greatest possible restraint.

6. I have now to consider the next steps. I must remind you that, whatever happens, the first two of the three tasks mentioned in my broadcast—the prosecution of the war against Japan, and the carrying on of the administration and preparation for post-war development—must be performed by the Government of India for the time being in office. It will be my duty to see that these tasks are performed with the greatest energy that I can impose, and I cannot permit any hindrance to them.

7. I propose to take a little time to consider in what way I can best help India after the failure of the Conference. You can all help best by refraining from recriminations. The war against Japan must be carried on, and law and order must be maintained; and until I see my way more clearly than I do now, it may be difficult, perhaps impossible to suggest any new move. No Government can carry on under the daily prospect of change or dissolution. I have to secure the stability and day-to-day efficiency of my Government, and it would be impossible to enter upon continuous or even frequent political discussions of this kind. Whatever decisions His Majesty's Government may take in the near future must therefore, in all probability, hold good for some little time.

8. I thank you all for the help you have given me, and for the restraint, patience and understanding which you have shown. Do not any of you be discouraged by this setback. We shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST SPEECH ON
V. (J.) DAY, WEDNESDAY, THE 15TH AUGUST 1945.

The greatest and most destructive war in history has been ended by the unconditional surrender of the Eastern aggressor, Japan, who has suffered the same well-deserved fate as the Western aggressor, Germany. Japan, with her insensate ambition and militarism, was a real, close and deadly menace to India; and her defeat is in a special sense India's victory. I think there are comparatively few who realise the peril in which India stood during the summer of 1942, or have fully appreciated what the consequences of a Japanese invasion would have been.

Japan's record of aggression has been long and wanton, beginning in 1931 with the seizure of Manchuria from an older, wiser, but militarily weaker nation. Six years later when she saw that the League of Nations was powerless or unwilling to force her to disgorge her prey, she attacked at Shanghai the heart of the same neighbour; to encounter this time the stubborn resistance of an enduring people, a resistance which, to the glory of China, has continued ever since until this victorious end. A few years later Japan in her arrogance decided to play for the dominance of the Eastern world; she struck the assassin's treacherous blow at Pearl Harbour while still pretending to negotiate, and invaded Malaya by the territory of another weaker power, whose country she had occupied under no other pretext than that of superior strength.

For a time all went well with Japan. Her successes in Malaya, at Singapore, in Borneo, Java and Burma brought her within striking distance of Australia and of India whilst both were still unprepared. She overran and subjugated the Philippines.

But that was the end of her triumphs. The United States unrolled their immense and impressive military strength; the British, hard pressed as they were in the western theatre, drew reinforcements from it for the defence of India; the Australians were grimly resolute to defend their country by the best means, that of counter-attack. The Japanese advance was stayed and then driven back gradually but relentlessly, and with great loss. Japan's dream of the Empire of the East, perhaps of the world, lasted little more than one year. In her complete disregard of one of the great symbols of man's progress towards higher things, the International Red Cross; in her brutal treatment of war prisoners, of civilian internees, and of the peoples

of the countries she occupied, Japan has shown that she wears the trappings of civilization over a barbarian's soul.

The myth of Japanese naval and military supremacy has also been completely exploded. Her boasted navy, handled with little skill, was outfought and destroyed piecemeal; her air force was shown to be much inferior both in men and material to the Allied Squadrons: her land forces, once their tricks were learnt and countered, were decisively defeated. The warriors of India have shown themselves in skill and physique better men and finer fighters than their half-civilized enemies.

Today marks our deliverance from many and great dangers. Let us then remember first our fighting men who saved us—our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen—of whom India may well be proud. They came in their thousands from the Provinces and States of India, from the borders of Afghanistan to the shores of the Indian Ocean. Their ranks was swelled by the gallant soldiers of our old and loyal friend, Nepal. Today the valour and skill of the Indian Army is acclaimed all over the world. Let us also remember our Merchant seamen who faced such dangers to keep open our main line of communication. Let us remember those who fell in our defence in the words of a famous Greek epigram written nearly 2,500 years ago, of which the following is a translation:—

“If these had not been steadfast, smoke and fire
Had risen from our city to the sky;
Freedom for us, their sons, was their desire,
Themselves they chose among the brave to die.”

Let us remember too the toilers in the factory and in the field who through these hard years have sustained us and our armies. Let us remember the efforts of the A.R.P. workers, the railwaymen and others who so well played their part. India can indeed claim a large share of the victory both in the West and in the East. To all those, whether in high office or humble duty, officials and non-officials, women as well as men, who have contributed to the victory by their steadfastness, courage and hard work; to the Princes of India who have made such a notable contribution—to all these I give grateful thanks on behalf of India for having brought this country safely through the great crisis. I give thanks also on behalf of India to our helpers and allies, to Britain whose people never lost hope in the darkest hour, to the United States of whose magnificent services in the common cause we in India know so

much, to the stubborn people of Russia, and to our indomitable neighbour China. We owe a debt of deep gratitude to the great war leaders of these countries, and to their peoples.

And now what of the future? Peace will bring no easy solution of our many problems, political, social, and economic. We have endured nearly six years of war, and there are many who are strained and weary. But we cannot yet afford relaxation: remember that our real tasks are still ahead. Our gratitude to those who saved us, to the rank and file of our fighting forces, to our peasants and workers, must be shown not in mere words but in action to improve their lot. May we be given courage and understanding to use bravely and wisely the peace they have won for us.

PRESENTATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY OF THE
THREE SHIELDS WON BY DELHI IN THE SMALL SAVINGS
COMPETITION ON MONDAY, THE 20TH AUGUST 1945.

Gentlemen,—I congratulate Delhi Province on its outstanding success in the Small Savings Competition. The saving in small amounts of a sum of nearly one crore is a very remarkable achievement, which shows both the good sense and patriotism of the people of Delhi, and the energy and ability of the Savings Committee who have been so ably supported by Rai Bahadur Nathu Ram Sethi and Mr. Le Bailly. The practice of saving is of great social and economic importance and the work of the Committee in encouraging this habit is most valuable. I am very glad to hear of the movement to form Savings Groups in all villages. I congratulate the Committee and wish them further success in the future.

I have now great pleasure in presenting these shields to the Chief Commissioner.

BROADCAST SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, AT
NEW DELHI, ON WEDNESDAY, THE 19TH SEPTEMBER
1945.

After my recent discussions with His Majesty's Government in London, they authorised me to make the following announcement:—

“As stated in the gracious Speech from the Throne at the Opening of Parliament, His Majesty's Government are

determined to do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion the early realisation of full self-government in India. During my visit to London they have discussed with me the steps to be taken.

"An announcement has already been made that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, so long postponed owing to the war, are to be held during the coming cold weather. Thereafter His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders in all Provinces.

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a Constitution-making Body, and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussions will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the Constitution-making Body.

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India.

"During these preparatory stages, the Government of India must be carried on, and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new World Order. His Majesty's Government have therefore further authorised me, as soon as the results of the Provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties."

That is the end of the announcement which His Majesty's Government have authorised me to make. It means a great deal. It means that His Majesty's Government are determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to self-government at the earliest possible date. They have, as you can well imagine, a great number of most important and urgent problems on their hands; but despite all their preoccupations they have taken time, almost in their first days of office, to give attention to the Indian problem, as one of the first and most important. That

fact is a measure of the earnest resolve of His Majesty's Government to help India to achieve early self-government.

The task of making and implementing a new Constitution for India is a complex and difficult one, which will require goodwill, co-operation and patience on the part of all concerned. We must first hold elections so that the will of the Indian electorate may be known. It is not possible to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system. This would delay matters for at least two years. But we are doing our best to revise the existing electoral rolls efficiently. After the elections, I propose to hold discussions with representatives of those elected, and of the Indian States to determine the form which the Constitution-making Body should take, its powers and procedure. The draft declaration of 1942 proposed a method of setting up a Constitution-making Body but His Majesty's Government recognise that, in view of the great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems, consultation with the people's representatives is necessary before the form of the Constitution-making Body is finally determined.

The above procedure seems to His Majesty's Government and myself the best way open to us to give India the opportunity of deciding her destiny. We are well aware of the difficulties to be overcome but are determined to overcome them. I can certainly assure you that the Government and all sections of the British people are anxious to help India, which has given us so much help in winning this war. I for my part will do my best, in the service of the people of India, to help them to arrive at their goal, and I firmly believe that it can be done.

It is now for Indians to show that they have the wisdom, faith and courage to determine in what way they can best reconcile their differences and how their country can be governed by Indians for Indians.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE MAHARAJA HARISINGHJI HOSPITAL AT SRINAGAR (KASHMIR) ON THE 11TH OCTOBER 1945.

When Lord Linlithgow laid the foundation-stone of this Hospital five years ago the war against Germany had been in progress for just over a year. India was beginning to feel the shortages of materials with which we have since

become familiar, but I doubt if those present at the ceremony foresaw that it would be five years before the Hospital could be declared open. For a long time now steel, cement and bricks have had to be allotted almost entirely to military works, and many civil buildings, however useful, have had to await their turn or to remain incomplete. I am very pleased to perform the opening ceremony of the Hospital today and trust that the work that remains to be done will soon be completed.

The record which the Prime Minister has given us of the growth of the Health Services in Kashmir and the corresponding decline in epidemic diseases is encouraging. I have no doubt that the steady rate of progress will be maintained and that this new Hospital, named after the enlightened Ruler who is responsible for carrying out this wise and progressive health policy, will render great service to the people of Kashmir.

If you will forgive me a personal recollection, I can make a very modest claim to have done some mobile dispensary work in Kashmir, when as a young subaltern 40 years ago I used to go shooting in some of the remoter parts of the country. I found that villagers where my camp halted for the night used to bring me their sick with a rather embarrassing confidence that I could help them. I am afraid that my prescriptions were mainly dictated by the very limited size of my medicine chest; they were in fact confined to three simple remedies—quinine for fevers, cascara for internal complaints and permanganate of potash for wounds. My most spectacular cure of an internal pain was effected on my own shikari by means of a home-made mustard plaster; though I must admit that it required a further cure to restore the skin which the mustard plaster had removed from his chest.

This war has led to many advances in medical knowledge which will soon become available to the general public, and I have no doubt that full advantage of them will be taken in this Hospital. Outside the Hospital also the experience gained during the war in controlling malaria and typhus by the use of new insecticides and new administrative methods may do much to improve the health of Kashmir.

Finally, I would like to impress on you that the best of hospital buildings and the most skilful of doctors lose a great part of their value without an efficient nursing service.

I hope that Kashmir will succeed in organising this very important part of health progress.

I have great pleasure in declaring the Hospital open, and I wish it all possible success.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME READ TO HIM AT THE RAWALPINDI DARBAR ON 15TH OCTOBER 1945.

On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you for the very warm welcome you have given us.

It is 38 years since I was last in Rawalpindi. I was then a young subaltern stationed at Sialkot; and I looked on Pindi with some awe as Army Headquarters, the home of "Brass hats", which a right-minded subaltern would do well to avoid. Now after many years I have come back as a "Brass hat" myself; but I have not forgotten that once I was a very young officer in the Punjab, and that life was very good there and that Indian soldiers and the men of the Punjab made a great impression on me. I would speak to you today as a soldier to soldiers, mostly about soldiers.

2. The Commissioner has given us an account of the War Effort of the Rawalpindi Division and of its six districts. It is a record of which you may all be very proud, and I congratulate you on it. This famous Division of the Punjab has indeed played a worthy part. I should like to say something to relate your effort to India's whole effort in the war, of which I have seen so much personally.

3. Except for a small transport unit which went to France—of which I will mention something later—India's original effort was in the Middle East, in defence of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, our main lines of communication to India.

When the Italians entered the war in 1940 and advanced towards Egypt, the only formations of trained troops which I had available to meet the threat of those vastly superior numbers were the 4th Indian Division and an incomplete British Armoured Division. With that force we won the battle of Sidi Barrani and saved Egypt. That was at the end of 1940. In the beginning of 1941 two Indian Divisions, the 4th and 5th, drove the Italians out of Eritrea and Northern Abyssinia, storming two of the strongest natural positions I have ever seen, Keren and

Amba Alagi. That same summer, when the Middle East was in its greatest danger, threatened from four quarters, a brigade of the same famous 4th Division was responsible for the capture of Damascus at a critical moment in the Syrian campaign; other Indian troops helped to suppress the attempt by a few ambitious generals and politicians to place Iraq in German hands; and others assisted to halt Rommel's counter-attack in the Western Desert.

Of all these achievements I can speak from first-hand personal knowledge; and I repeat what I have already said elsewhere that without Indian troops and Indian help the vital link of the Middle East could not have been held in those early stages of the war.

4. Of the subsequent brilliant exploits of Indian troops in North Africa, in Sicily and in Italy I cannot speak at first-hand but they are well known to you; they brought fresh renown to the reputation of the Indian Army, both with their comrades in the Allied Forces and throughout the world.

I would have you know that the liking and admiration these Indian troops aroused amongst the other Allied Forces with whom they fought was not only for their military valour, but for their discipline, their smartness, and for their qualities as comrades. I have seen tributes to these qualities and to their fighting prowess from British, from Australians, from South Africans, from Americans, who not only valued them as great fighters but also as good comrades. From France in the early days I remember an impressive tribute to the discipline and steadiness of an Indian transport unit (non-combatants, these) which was cut off in the retreat of the French army and captured with French troops, who greatly admired the way in which the Indians in retreat and disaster still retained their order and discipline.

5. At the end of 1941, when Japan entered the war, India had to turn about and face a new and formidable enemy. It was a stern trial in every way. Men who had been trained for desert warfare had, with little or no preparation, to fight in thick jungle against an enemy who had studied every trick of jungle warfare. The Allies, hard pressed in the West, had been able to spare comparatively few aircraft and insufficient equipment for the East. Our reverses and retreats in Malaya and Burma were in the circumstances inevitable. They never for a moment shook my faith in the Indian soldier. I maintained, even in the

darkest hours of defeat and danger, that the Indian warrior was more than a match for the Japanese, once he had the opportunity of training and the necessary equipment. The utter rout of the Japanese attempt to invade India in the spring and summer of 1944 and the recapture of Burma proved this to the hilt. By the time Rangoon had been retaken the Japanese had been completely beaten, and they knew it. The Indian had shown himself the better man.

6. The cruelty and barbarism from which India was saved by the Allied victory is now being made clear, as the full horror of the prison camps in Germany, in Malaya, and elsewhere is becoming known. Our efforts and sacrifices have saved us from domination by ruthless, uncivilised enemies. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to our fighting men.

7. Not to our fighting men alone. It was not only as the sword-arm of India, not only on the field of battle, that the Punjab played its part in the war effort. Industrially the Punjab is comparatively undeveloped, but its contribution in agriculture was vital. Without adequate food neither armies nor nations can wage war. The hand at the plough was almost as important as the sword-arm in the battle, and the cultivators whose efforts produced so much food may also take pride in what they did towards the winning of the war.

8. As all soldiers know, however good the quality of men in a unit, they must have good leadership and good administration to give of their best. This applies to all enterprises, military or civil. The Punjab has certainly had both during the war. You owe much to the steadfastness and ability of your Governor, His Excellency Sir Bertrand Glancy; his determination to support the interests of the Punjab at all times and with all his eloquence is well known to the Central Government in Delhi. You have been very fortunate in having as your war leaders two great Indian statesmen, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and your present Premier, the Hon'ble Nawab Malik Khizar Hyat Khan. These men and the Ministers who supported them guided the Punjab through the difficult years of war with courage, wisdom and statesmanship; and showed an example to all India. I would like also to mention specially a leader to whom the Punjab owes much, the late Sir Chhotu Ram, who died in harness, working to the last for the Province he loved so well. So long as the Punjab can produce leaders of the quality of these men, the Province will prosper, in peace or in war.

Closer home to you, Mr. Marsden who was your Commissioner in some of the most difficult years, and Mr. King, your present Commissioner, have played great parts. So have also your District Officers. I think the Punjab has always been fortunate in the high quality of its servants and in their love for the Punjab.

9. Of the two million soldiers, sailors and airmen whom India raised during this war, an outstandingly high percentage came from the Punjab. How large a share the Rawalpindi Division has contributed, your Commissioner has told us. I would remind you that apart from the men in the Fighting Services, there were many from the Punjab and from this Division who served in the Merchant Navy and sailed throughout the war in hard conditions and in dangerous waters. You may take pride in their work also.

10. So much for the war. Now come the difficult tasks of peace, which require the same qualities as war—leadership, steadfastness in the face of difficulties, comradeship, discipline—the military virtues in fact. There are testing years ahead, more testing even than the years of war. I am confident that the Punjab will face them with the same leadership, with the same steadfastness.

11. The Commissioner has expressed the hope that the services of the Punjabi soldiers and of those who have helped in this great War Effort will not be forgotten. So far as I am concerned, I will do my best to see that this hope is fulfilled. But it would be wrong to give you the impression that now that the fighting is over, we have an easy time ahead of us.

During a war, conditions are abnormal. Large numbers of young men join the Services; there is employment for nearly everyone who wants it; wages and prices are high; and although there are shortages and hardships, there is, for a large part of the population, prosperity created by war conditions. But it is not a lasting prosperity. As we begin to come back to normal, there will be a difficult period during which war production will cease and ordinary peacetime production will not have been fully started. In the cities there will inevitably be a good deal of unemployment, and the soldiers returning to their homes may find things unexpectedly difficult. These conditions are not peculiar to India—in many ways India is much better off than the other countries of the world which took part in the war. But it will require a very great deal of hard work, discipline

and commonsense on the part of all of us, and of good level-headed administration by the leaders of the nation, before we can return to normal peace-time life, and a peace-time, we must hope, more prosperous and secure than before.

12. You will wish to know what we are going to do to help the country over this difficult period, and particularly what we are going to do for the returning soldiers. For India as a whole, we hope to carry out a considerable development plan—the construction of new roads, improvements in the various social services, improvements in agriculture, and a great expansion of our industries. This long-term plan will take time to get started and will not solve the immediate problem. But we are selecting from the long-term plan those projects which it is comparatively simple to carry out, so that where there is widespread unemployment, work may be provided at an early stage. You will realise that Japan was defeated some time, perhaps six months, before we expected, and we have had to accelerate our short-term planning so that we may be ready to meet the problems that will arise.

As for the returning soldiers, I know that nearly all those of the Punjab would like irrigated land in the Canal Colonies. Unfortunately most of the land in your great Canal Colonies has already been taken up. The Punjab Governemnt have generously made reward grants to many soldiers who have received decorations for gallantry; but the land available during the next two or three years will suffice only for a very small proportion of the men returning to their homes from the Fighting Services and we cannot rely on large-scale settlement on the land as a means of helping them.

There are other things that we can do and will try to do. We are providing training courses for men before they are demobilized, so that they may be better able to earn a living as civilians. We are providing educational and technical courses for men after demobilization. Many men, I am sure, will wish to return to their homes and work on their own ancestral holdings. There must, however, be many men in the Services who have learnt a trade and who will wish to find employment in which they can use their knowledge. For these we are setting up a network of Employment Exchanges so that, as industry develops, people wanting employment can be put in touch with suitable employers. We are opening Special Centres

for disabled men; for instance, a Centre, which I recently visited, has been established for blinded men at Dehra Dun under the supervision of St. Dunstons. We will do all we can to help the men of the Fighting Services and the families of those who have been killed or disabled. In the Rawalpindi Division I know that you have good Soldiers Boards; and I want to see them strengthened and working as the real link between the Central Government, the Provincial Government, and the Servicemen.

13. You will be anxious to know what the future of the Indian Fighting Services will be. We intend that there shall be a truly Indian Army in which all the Officers will eventually be Indians, and which will rely on Britain in the meantime only for such borrowed British Officers as it requires. We shall need a larger Navy; the Royal Indian Navy has grown greatly during the War, but has so far manned only small ships. The Royal Indian Air Force, which has done fine work, will also be an important and growing Service. In these modern Forces there will, of course, be opportunities for the Punjab to continue its martial rôle. You will realise that education is increasingly important both for the Officers and for the rank and file. We hope to improve facilities for education and, as you probably know, the Indian War Memorial will take the form of a great Military Academy at which Officers for all three Services will be trained.

14. I would say this to you in conclusion. never lose faith. There are testing, difficult, even dangerous times ahead. Things will seem to be going all wrong; so they often do in battle. There will be amongst you faint-hearted men, who will try to discourage you; there will be discontented men, who will urge you to mistrust of your leaders; there are a few of these even in the best of units. But so long as the great mass of you believe in the greatness of your Province and in its traditions of loyalty to its leaders; and are determined to serve it as faithful citizens, the Punjab will remain a name that will always stir its sons to pride. You are a martial race. I would have you look on the Punjab as your Regiment, and on yourselves of this Division as a battalion of that Regiment. Every good soldier is certain that his battalion is the finest in his Regiment and that his Regiment is the finest in the Army. And your Army should be in your mind as a united India, the greatest country in the East. It can be so, if you keep faith in your destiny through all the trials that lie ahead.

If India's name stands far higher today in the world than it did in 1939, as I know that it does, the credit is due to the simple people, the soldiers, sailors, and airmen; the workers in the fields and in the factories; who, through these dangerous years, have done their best; and above all, to the men of the Fighting Services who, in all their campaigns, have proved themselves steadfast and courageous, and have won the respect and admiration of their comrades-in-arms of the other United Nations.

I give you my best wishes for your future prosperity and welfare. Some of my earliest years of service were spent in the Punjab; and they were good years. Now that I am old in service, I give you the message of a soldier: "Keep faith, stand firm, remain true and united".

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF
THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE AT
Gwalior ON WEDNESDAY, THE 21ST NOVEMBER 1945.

I thank Your Highness for your cordial welcome to Gwalior. My first visit to your State was over 38 years ago, as a slender sight-seeing subaltern. I am very glad to be visiting again this great Mahratta State at the end of a war in which the State, true to its martial traditions, has given so much to the war effort. Your Highness, like your brother Princes, has never failed in meeting our war needs. It is fitting that two renowned raiding forces, General Wingate's Chindits and the Airborne Division, should have had their headquarters in Gwalior, where so many daring military expeditions have been planned in the past.

I congratulate Your Highness warmly on the birth of your son, and on the wise means you have taken to celebrate it by extending the medical facilities in the State.

As Your Highness has said, victory in this war and the coming of peace, has opened great opportunities to India for industrial development, and for progress in all directions. India is preparing elaborate and expensive schemes for an attack on a broad front against poverty, lack of education, malnutrition and ill-health. The prospects of advance are almost unlimited; but there are grave errors which must be avoided in the process of industrialization. We know this well in Great Britain, where our industrial revolution, a hundred years or more ago, was based on an under-paid, badly housed, unhealthy working population—a legacy of error from which it has taken us more than a

hundred years to recover. I hope that in the industrialization of India the mistakes we made will be avoided; and that the working man will get a square deal in the matter of wages, health and housing. Quite apart from the questions of justice and morality, there can be no doubt that good treatment of workmen pays in the long run. I am glad to see that all the indications point to the State of Gwalior being determined, under Your Highness' guidance, to adopt modern standards of progress. I understand that the first elections to the State Legislative Assembly are now taking place, and I am sure that the Assembly will fulfil a most valuable function in encouraging the expression of public opinion.

In all plans for progress, the first step must be the education of the teachers and instructors. India is very short of experts in many important fields. I therefore congratulate Your Highness on your foresight and wisdom in establishing this Medical College. I am sure that it will prove of lasting benefit to the State, and that the men to be trained here will go forth, not only with an adequate technical education, but with high professional standards and a lively ideal of service, of which Your Highness has so eloquently spoken. Physicians and surgeons are the warriors of peace, who are always on active service and whose battle against disease and suffering is never ended. I have great pleasure in laying the foundation-stone of this Medical College and in wishing it all success.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE 16TH MEETING OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF IRRIGATION AT THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI, ON MONDAY, THE 26TH NOVEMBER 1945.

I am very glad to be able to open the 16th Meeting of this Central Board of Irrigation. Your branch of engineering is an ancient, important, and very honourable one. Irrigation engineers are the oldest experts in the world. The 2nd Chapter of Genesis tells us that "A river went out of Eden to water the garden", obviously the first recorded example of irrigation. The two ancient civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia were of course built entirely on irrigation; and the forerunners in your craft were presumably a much honoured guild or fraternity in those countries. Amongst the most eminent of the early irrigation experts must be numbered Moses, of whose achievements in the

art of irrigation we know at least two; when he smote the rock at Horeb, "bidding drink and live the crowd beneath him"; and when he sweetened the bitter waters at Marah, presumably by building a dam to keep out some brackish element.

Other engineers may give us speed in travel or comfort in our dwellings; your gift is that of life itself. If you want a text for your labours you will find it in a verse of ISAIAH: "I give waters in the wilderness and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people".

India's great achievements in irrigation have never been fully realised by the world; you and your predecessors have for the most part done your work unadvertised, unsung, unproclaimed. Few people probably realise that the irrigated area in India—70 million acres—is more than three times that of the United States, the next most irrigated country; and more than the whole combined total of the next ten countries with most irrigation—the United States, Russia, Mexico, Japan, Egypt, Italy, Spain, France, Chile, and Java. I am told that Indian canals, if placed in one line would be sufficient to go three times round the world. I don't know whether that fact—if it is a fact—conveys much to anyone; perhaps a more striking illustration would be that they would suffice to go at least six times round the planet Mars, about whose hypothetical canals most people have probably heard more than about India's very real ones.

There is no doubt whatever, therefore, about India's lead to the world in irrigation. Nor of its vital importance to India; with our rapidly increasing population we must irrigate to live. I have been deeply interested in irrigation projects ever since I undertook some responsibility for India's administration. I have visited a number of existing irrigation works; and I have studied, as intelligently as a layman can, many of the important projects now under consideration. Some of these, for instance the Soni river project, the Damodar river scheme, and the Sarda river extension, I have seen from the air, while an expert shouted explanations to me. I shall be very interested to see the list of existing and proposed projects which you have on your agenda. I fully endorse what your President has said about development on a regional basis, and not on a purely parochial or provincial plan. It may interest you to know that the new Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Francis Wylie, spent a considerable portion of his leave in

visiting America and studying at first hand the Tennessee Valley Administration.

The nature of the new projects is changing; and many of them are being developed on an extended and ambitious plan, to provide great storages of water, hydro-electric power, and flood control, as well as irrigation. I am glad to hear that you have included in your Board experts on hydro-electric works and on waterways. May I venture to suggest another expert whom you might include, a malaria expert, to see that all possible precautions against the spread of malaria are taken from the beginning?

I am sure that you are right to insist on the indirect benefits provided by your schemes being taken into consideration when the financial implications are being worked out. I am convinced that irrigation is of such vital importance to India and of such lasting benefit that we must adopt a much bolder policy in the matter of finance than we have sometimes done in the past.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer with the remarks of an uninformed layman, quite illiterate in your profession. I do most sincerely wish you success in your discussions and in your subsequent work; and I can assure you that I will, so far as lies in my power, give you support in your plans. You will have long and difficult struggles with many elements; with unseasonable weather, with insufficient transport, with ignorant labour, with intractable materials and still more intractable contractors, with storm, with disease, with disaster, and with the Finance Department. But I am sure that you will not be discouraged by all these obstacles and trammels and will go ahead with your vital work, bringing your schemes to successful fruition, and thereby giving India relief from the perils of starvation and poverty. Good fortune to you in your great enterprises.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE SERVICES VICTORY EXHIBITION ON MONDAY, THE 26TH NOVEMBER 1945.

It is over 2½ years ago since I came to this same site as Commander-in-Chief to wish success to the War Services Exhibition at the start of its tour over India. Now the same exhibition with appropriately changed name has come back here for its final display. The promising recruit has come back a trained man, proved and experienced.

The exhibition during its tour, of India was visited by at least four million people; and there is no doubt that it was an outstanding success wherever it went. It can justly claim to have made no small contribution to the victory which now forms part of its new title. It was undoubtedly an effective aid to recruitment. It has spread in India a knowledge of India's war effort, of the weapons which have been used on distant battlefields by India's sons, and of India's Army which has earned so high a reputation and so much glory in many parts of the world. It has provided interest, entertainment and education wherever it has gone.

There is no doubt about the effectiveness of this method of publicity, as was shown also by the railway exhibition here, which was organized on the same model. I hope that the same method will be used for illustrating the purposes of peace.

I give my most sincere congratulations to Wing Commander Shafi and his assistants for the most valuable work which they have so efficiently carried out.

This Victory Exhibition is fully up to standard and I hope it will be seen and enjoyed by very large numbers of the citizens of Delhi. I have great pleasure in declaring it open.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE WAVELL-SADIQ VICTORY HOSPITAL, BAGHDAD-UL-JADID, BAHAWALPUR STATE, ON SUNDAY, THE 2ND DECEMBER 1945.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness for your cordial welcome to my wife and myself. It is a great pleasure to us to visit Bahawalpur State, in which we have already had experience of Your Highness' hospitality, when I was Commander-in-Chief.

I appreciate the compliment Your Highness has paid me in asking me to lay the foundation-stone of this hospital and in wishing it to be named "The Wavell-Sadiq Victory Hospital".

I accept most gratefully Your Highness' generous offer of a lakh of rupees for my War Purposes Fund. The post-war demands on the Fund, for such needs as the rehabilitation of the wounded and the care of widows and orphans, are even more important than many of the demands that

were made during the war itself. As a recent appeal has shown, the Joint War Organisation of the Red Cross and St. John's is still in need of large sums of money for necessary purposes, and with Your Highness' approval I should like to allot this lakh of rupees to the current Appeal on behalf of this organisation.

Now that Victory has been won, I should like to congratulate and thank Your Highness and your State on the services that you have rendered during the war. You yourself have undertaken long and most valuable tours overseas. You have been unsparing in personal efforts and in gifts of money; and have placed property both in England and in India at the disposal of Government.

Your State made important contributions in manpower. I regret the misfortune that befell the First Bahawalpur Infantry Battalion in being taken prisoner by the Japanese during the Malayan campaign. I am glad to hear that most of them have now returned safely. Your State provided also a Mountain Battery, two Infantry Companies, a Garrison Battalion and a Light Motor Ambulance Section for active service, as well as a Labour Unit of 1,200 men which did good work on aerodrome construction. You rightly mention the achievements of your State in the Grow More Food Campaign and your successful efforts to encourage Defence Savings, as further valuable contributions to the war effort of India.

We have now come to the very difficult period of transition to peace. Our general policy must be based on certain essential principles. We need a peaceful atmosphere in which to approach the complex constitutional problem that has to be solved; this means that law and order must be firmly maintained throughout India. We must be ready to undertake public works as soon as possible to counteract the effect of the unemployment caused by the elimination of war expenditure. And we must plan boldly and generously for the future, so that India may become strong, prosperous and healthy.

Your Highness' policy in founding this hospital clearly conforms with these requirements. By the speedy construction of this hospital you will be preventing unemployment in the present and preparing a great legacy for the future. I congratulate Your Highness on your choice of an architect: the Hallett Hospital, which I opened at the beginning of this year was a good design.

I wish all success to the new hospital and to those who will work in it. I am sure you are all conscious of the need of providing a nursing service in the State for the needs of this hospital and of others. A doctor without good nurses is like a General without a staff. There can be no greater service to humanity than to relieve suffering and to promote health.

This hospital, the foundation-stone of which I am now going to lay, is bound by its nature to see much pain and sorrow, but it will see also much joy and relief, at health regained and troubles past. May it always prosper in its service to your State and in the cause of humanity.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS
OF COMMERCE OF INDIA AT CALCUTTA ON MONDAY, THE
10TH DECEMBER 1945.

I thank you, on behalf of my wife and myself, for your cordial welcome and for the kind things you have said about us. We have both a very genuine desire to help India: we both realise how much there is to do and with what difficulties our task is beset. We shall both continue to work for India to the best of our abilities and understanding.

I entirely share your regret at the impending departure of your Governor, Mr. Casey. No man has worked more wholeheartedly for Bengal than he has done during these two years, no man could have accomplished more in so short a time. He has certainly shown Bengal the road to recovery and progress. Of your new Governor I can assure you of this; that he is a man of courage, character and sympathy—the three great qualities that make a man.

Mrs. Casey has worked with the same single-mindedness as her husband; I am sure that her goodwill and her charm will be greatly missed when she leaves Calcutta, and will be long remembered.

The world situation has indeed changed since I spoke here a year ago. Our enemies have collapsed; have collapsed more suddenly and completely than anyone could have expected. Yet, though the mighty have fallen, the weapons of war have not perished; a deadlier weapon than ever before devised by the brain and hand of man has appeared on the Earth, in the splitting of the atom. If

used with greed for power, it will prove a monster such as Frankenstein made, and will kill its creators; if used with wisdom and sense, it may be a beneficent genie, with miraculous gifts for mankind—a world released from war; plenty and leisure in place of poverty and toil; flying carpets at Woolworth prices for everyone. It is in safe hands at the moment, we can only hope that it will be always used with wisdom.

Meantime we are faced with the problems of peace. One of the most resolute and clear-sighted leaders of the First World War—Georges Clemenceau, sometimes called the Tiger—wrote, after it was all over, a book to which he gave the title '*Les grandeurs et les misères de la Victoire*'—the greatnesses and the tribulations of Victory. It is of these that I will say something.

Let us deal with our greatnesses first. India has without doubt emerged from this war with increased financial and industrial strength, with increased reputation all over the world, with increased consciousness of her power and destiny, with the greatest opportunities she has ever had, if she can shape her future aright. I will speak on that presently. Meantime let us recognise two things; the gravity of the perils from which we have been delivered, and the gratitude due to those who have delivered us. The evidence that continues to accumulate of German and Japanese arrogance and brutalities shows what would have been the fate of India and the East as well as of Europe, had the Axis powers not been defeated. Their defeat and our salvation were due chiefly to the gallantry and endurance of the soldiers and workers of the United Nations, amongst whom Indians played so distinguished a part. I ask you to pay them in your thoughts, your words, and above all in your deeds, the debt of thanksgiving which we all owe them.

I am glad that Sir Renwick paid a tribute to the Members of the Executive Council. They deserve it. We in the Central Government are, I must confess, more used to criticism than to praise. Like the beggar in the proverb, we get more kicks than half-pence: but you, Mr. President, have given us quite a generous six-pence. I say in all seriousness that when the records are examined dispassionately, it will be found that India has had, on the whole, as wise and courageous guidance in this war by her Counsellors, mainly Indian, as it is reasonable to expect in the imperfect direction of human affairs.

It is true, as your President has said, that the sudden ending of the war found India unprepared for peace. But that is not to say that there had been lack of foresight, or that a great deal had not been done. Preparations to meet the outbreak of peace had been going on for more than a year; but like almost everyone else all over the world we had expected at least another six months of war. It is much easier to prepare for war during a peace than to prepare for peace during a war. In war, when a nation is in peril and fighting for its existence, or even if it is striving to complete a victory already half-won, it cannot afford to reduce its effort and withdraw its man-power from the armed forces or munition factories in anticipation of peace—or only to a very limited extent. In other words, you can turn as much of your butter as you like into guns, but it is much more difficult to reverse the process and to churn your guns back into butter. Still, we have been doing our best. Before I deal with the Government's plans for reconversion, I will say something about controls.

During all wars, there is an unjustified belief with some people that as soon as the fighting ceases life will return to normal and all restrictions can be lifted. That belief is always disappointed, and a little reflection will show that it has no sound basis. A man who has suffered for many days from a high fever does not become a healthy man as soon as his temperature drops, nor he is able at once to enjoy a full diet; there is bound to be a period of convalescence. If he tries to cut short his convalescence, he sometimes finds himself back in hospital.

Wartime controls, such as the rationing of foodgrains and cloth, or the restriction of movement, do not arise from the actual fighting, but from causes which continue to operate long after the fighting ends, and cannot immediately be eliminated; such as the diversion of industry to wartime purposes and the dislocation of all means of transportation, by sea, land and air. Until our factories can work normally again and until ships and railway wagons are available on demand for peace-time requirements, we shall have a shortage of supply and difficulties of movement. As long as these factors obtain, which they will do for many months yet, controls must remain, to ensure that the limited supplies available are distributed as fairly and equally as possible. Controls will have to be relaxed gradually and in an orderly way. This will be done as soon as it becomes possible.

It is alleged against controls that they cause black-marketing and corruption. It is true that there has been in India a shameful amount of corruption, used to evade controls, during the war. It still exists. But it is the shortages that cause the corruption and not the controls. Wherever there is shortage, the anti-social greedy man will try to get more than his fair share, and will be unscrupulous in his methods. He flourishes in his black market or languishes in gaol, in proportion to the lack or existence of public honesty and public spirit—honesty which will refuse to take advantage of illegal opportunity and public spirit which will refuse to deal in the black market and will expose those who do. But if all men were honest and none were greedy, government would be a simple business.

I think on the whole Government can claim a great measure of success for its control of some of the main items of supply—food, coal, cloth and drugs. I will say a few words on these.

The general food situation of India continues to demand vigilance on the part of Government and co-operation and restraint on the part of the public. Our troubles in India date from the time when Burma and Siam were closed to us as sources of supply by the Japanese. While it is true that those countries have now been liberated, and that rice from Burma and Siam will again be available for India's use, the flow of rice from those sources, although considerable, will not for some time to come be as large as it was before the war. We are not at present free to purchase as much as we like in those markets; nor can we leave it to the normal processes of trade to secure its movement to India. World shortages of production and the number of other urgent demands on shipping make it still necessary for world surpluses of cereals to be allocated by the Combined Food Boards in Washington and for world shipping to be carefully planned. The Government of India has to make good its demands for grain and shipping before the Bar of world opinion as represented by the Combined Food Boards in Washington, and imports can only be arranged by Government. The Government of India, with the support of the Secretary of State for India and the London Food Council, will continue to press for India's due share of world surpluses.

In these circumstances, not only must we do our best to increase production in India but we must procure as much as possible of our internal production and distribute

it on the basis of essential needs to deficit areas. It is imperative that we both utilise our own resources to the full and present to the outside world an example of rationed and controlled distribution in which waste and extravagance have no place.

The present outlook is on the whole not unfavourable. The late rains which occurred in Eastern India—although they did damage in certain areas—have done immeasurably more good than harm and have resulted in what might have been a very poor winter rice crop in parts of Bengal and Bihar becoming a very fairly good crop. Damage to crops from drought and cyclone has been reported from Madras, Bombay, and some other areas; but with the imports which we are justified in expecting, we have every hope of keeping the food situation stable during the forthcoming winter and spring.

The coal situation, which has been almost as great an anxiety as food for some years, is now much improved, though strict control is still necessary.

I am aware of the hardship that has been caused by the cloth shortage, but thanks to the measures of control taken over production and distribution the strain on the consumer has been progressively lightened. We shall not be able to purchase all the cloth we want, nor always the qualities we require, until the present world shortage in textiles is satisfied. But India is on the whole better off than many countries, including indeed the United Kingdom.

There is still a shortage of a few specialised drugs, but I hope these will soon be available in sufficient quantities.

The soldier's relief from stern duty after a war comes no more quickly or easily than the return of comfort to the civilian. A playwright has written this: "nothing has ever been made until the soldier has made safe the field where the buildings shall be built, and the soldier is the scaffolding until it has been built". The soldier is still the scaffolding of the new world which it is hoped will arise from the present very battered one. We see him on guard all over the world—in Germany, in Italy and elsewhere in Europe; in Japan, in Malaya and elsewhere in the East—administering, protecting, controlling, till statesmen and diplomats and peoples can decide how to harvest the fruits of his victory. We are specially interested in the use of our

troops in Indonesia, the facts of which have been much misrepresented. Our soldiers are not there to suppress the Indonesians; they went there on an errand of duty and an errand of mercy—to disarm the Japanese and to rescue Allied prisoners and internees. Those tasks are not yet completed and have been rendered difficult by the action of extremists and lawless elements, instigated by our Japanese enemies, and admittedly not under the control of those who claim to be the leaders of the Indonesians. It is these extremists whom our troops have had to fight. I can tell you this after seeing a number of reports; that the courage and discipline of Indian troops, attacked without provocation while rescuing defenceless women and children, and murdered while protecting the peaceful citizen against mob rule, has been worthy of their highest standards. There is no more difficult and unpleasant duty for the soldier than that of keeping law and order in civil commotion, and no one will be more glad than I when Indian troops are relieved of this responsibility.

I turn to the matter of Government planning for the years ahead. This has been on two lines: short-term planning for the transition period from war to peace; and long-term planning for the general development of India. The former includes the training of Service men and women for civil life; the establishment of Employment Bureaux all over the country; the resettlement of soldiers; and the preparation in all Provinces of works projects on which unskilled labour can be absorbed. But however carefully the Central Government and the Provinces may plan, the next year or two will be difficult, and there will be some hardship. It is not possible to pass from a period of very full Government employment, during which factories are working multiple shifts to feed the insatiable war machine, large numbers of young men are enlisted into the Armed Forces, and large clerical establishments are assembled, to a period of renewed private enterprise, without dislocation and difficulty. When you have been flying at say 15,000 feet, a quick descent causes serious discomfort to the human system. A considerate pilot brings his crew and passengers down slowly and gradually; the Central Government will make the landing to the ground-level of peace as shockless as they can, and I am sure that Provincial Governments will do the same. As your President said, it is necessary to pay special attention to the welfare of our returned soldiers.

We have all of us—administrators, businessmen and soldiers—said some hard things in our time, I am sure, of the restrictions imposed by financial considerations. I can assure you that at present the Finance Department is helping in every possible way, and is prepared to find the money for all reasonable and fruitful enterprises which will absorb labour.

Our long-term planning is based on the parallel development of agriculture and industry. For prosperity—indeed for mere survival of the population at its present rate of growth—great improvements in both directions are necessary, and are fortunately possible. There is not now a great deal of new land that can easily be made fertile; but the yield of the land already under cultivation can be greatly increased by improved methods and improved seeds; while further irrigation projects, if they cannot fertilise great tracts of waste-land as in the past, can at least ensure that much land now dependent on rainfall will be permanently supplied with water.

For industrial development, we have available abundant raw material, labour and enterprise. Our chief need is power, of two kinds—hydro-electric power to run the machinery and skilled man-power to direct it. A number of important hydro-electric schemes have been planned and will soon be taken in hand. These will supply the power necessary, but they will of course take time to construct. Many of them will present complex problems of administration, since they concern more than one Province or State. India's other great need is more trained technicians of every kind. We are doing all we can to provide training for them. I hope that a proper proportion of the youth of the country will study the practical rather than the theoretical branches of learning.

Sir Renwick has raised the issue of commercial safeguards. I do not propose to enter into any detail on this somewhat controversial subject. I do not think that there is any likelihood of the complete removal of the safeguarding clauses of the Act until there is a general revision of the Constitution Act and a commercial treaty between Great Britain and India; but the Government of India is aware of the natural desire of Indians to develop and control the basic industries with their own capital and management as far as possible; and will not disregard it. To my mind, however, goodwill and cordial relations are of greater importance to both British and Indian business than clauses in an Act; and the establishment of such relations is at

present and will be in the future the real safeguard for the interests of both. I firmly believe that co-operation between British and Indian enterprise in an atmosphere of goodwill provides the best means for the industrial development of India in the quickest and most fruitful manner.

I come to the political situation, on the issue of which all depends—progress or catastrophe. I intend to give you my views as clearly and frankly as I can.

India has before her great opportunities, the greatest she has ever had, for political freedom, for industrial and agricultural development, for progress towards solving her problems of poverty, illiteracy, ill-health. I need not enlarge on this theme. You are all, I am sure, aware of it yourselves. My tours over India in the last two years have certainly made me aware of all that is being done and of the quickening spirit of enterprise and earnestness in plans to improve agriculture, industry, health, education, and other branches of welfare. India's opportunities are hers to take. I can assure you unreservedly that the British Government and the British people honestly and sincerely wish the Indian people to have their political freedom and a Government, or Governments, of their own choice. But there are certain elements of the problem which we must recognise. It is not a simple problem; it cannot and will not be solved by repeating a password or formula. "Quit India" will not act as the magic "Sesame" which opened Ali Baba's cave. It cannot and will not be solved by violence. Disorder and violence are in fact the one thing that may check the pace of India's progress. There are various parties to the settlement, who must somehow or other reach a measure of agreement amongst themselves—Congress, the largest political party in India; the minorities, of whom the Muslims are the most numerous and most important; the Rulers of Indian States; and the British Government. The objective of all is the same—the freedom and welfare of India. I do not believe an agreed solution between the parties is impossible; I do not believe it would even be very difficult, given goodwill, commonsense and patience on all sides. And yet we stand on the edge of a tragedy. For it will be a grim tragedy for India and for the world, if an atmosphere of racial and communal hatred is allowed to prejudice the discussions which are to take place next year; and if violence results from that atmosphere. In the commercial world you do not, I imagine, preface delicate negotiations with another firm by unbridled abuse of that

firm and its methods of business. Yet that is how delicate political negotiations are being prefaced in India at present.

I can assure you that His Majesty's Government, and I as their agent, will do our best to secure agreement, to help India to form a Constitution, and to secure the support of the principal parties in the Central Government so as to enable them to bear a full share of responsibility for administering the country during the interval before the change of constitution can be made. His Majesty's Government has recently said so clearly, has emphasised the urgency it attaches to a solution; and means what it says. But I must have help and co-operation in securing a satisfactory solution; and no solution will be satisfactory which will result in chaos and bloodshed, interference with trade and industry, and perhaps famine and general misery. You are men of business, you realise better than anyone the necessity for peaceful development. I am an old soldier, I perhaps know better than any of you the horrors and wastefulness of bloodshed and strife, particularly civil strife. We have to avoid this; we can avoid it. We have to agree between ourselves; we can agree, if we are really determined to do so. Hindus and Muslims have got to live together in this great land; they surely can arrange the terms on which they will do so. The Indian States, which include so large a part of India and its peoples, have to be accommodated within the Indian Union, if that is to prosper; they present a very important element in the life of India, and often a very progressive one. Finally, there is the British Government and the British people; I repeat that it is our earnest wish and endeavour to give India freedom; but we cannot and will not abandon our responsibilities without bringing about some reasonable settlement.

I do appeal most solemnly and earnestly at this critical moment of Indian history for goodwill on the part of all leaders. We are going through a very difficult and testing time, and it will need coolness and wisdom if we are to avoid calamity. In so far as I can help by personal contact, I am always prepared to do so.

I will now refer to a matter on which as a soldier I hold strong views.

A great deal of political heat and feeling has been engendered by the way in which the I.N.A. trials have been represented to the public. I will say nothing of the trials themselves or of the men under trial, it would be quite

improper for me to do so. But I do propose to say something for the men who were prisoners of war but did not join the I.N.A., who under pressure and punishment, under hardships and want, stood firm to their ideals of a soldier's duty, a soldier's faith. They represented some 70 per cent. of the total men of the Indian Army who became prisoners of war in Malaya and Hong Kong. Whatever your political views, if you cannot acclaim the man who prefers his honour to his ease, who remains steadfast in adversity to his pledged faith, then you have a poor notion of the character which is required to build up a nation. I say to you that amongst all the exploits of the last five or six years for which the world rightly extols the Indian soldier, the endurance of those men in captivity and hardship stands as high as any. As a proof of what they endured as the price of their loyalty to their ideals of a soldier's duty, I will tell you this: the 45,000 Indian prisoners of war who stood firm are estimated to have lost about 11,000 or one quarter of their numbers, from disease, starvation and murder; the 20,000 who went over to our enemy's side lost only 1,500, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

One other thing. The welfare of the people, the greatness and prosperity of a nation depend on the efficiency and devotion of its Services—the Civil Service, the Police, the Armed Forces—who must be servants of the Government, not of a political party. There could be no greater disservice to the future of India than to endeavour to undermine the confidence of the Services or to draw them into the political arena. I can assure the Services, as His Majesty's Government has just done, that they will receive all support in the proper fulfilment of their duty.

Gentlemen, I have tried to put before you two things which I see, or think I see, clearly: the golden opportunity in front of India, if her leaders will exercise goodwill and moderation; the peril in which we stand today of violence and strife which may ruin India for a generation or more. It is a time when every man in any position of responsibility must determine to do all in his power to bring about a just and lasting settlement of India's problem without plunging this great land into conflict. The leaders of India, that is all of us who have power or responsibility in any field—political, administrative, commercial, proprietary—are, or should be, only the servants of the masses, the four hundred millions of India who stand in

such need of advancement, enlightenment and refreshment. On our wisdom and understanding of one another hangs their fate.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INSTITUTION OF ENGINEERS (INDIA) ON THE 27TH DECEMBER 1945 AT CALCUTTA.

It gives me great pleasure to be here today at your Jubilee meeting. One of my predecessors, Lord Chelmsford, inaugurated this Institution; another, Lord Irwin, laid the foundation-stone of your building; and a third, Lord Willingdon, performed the opening ceremony. Now to me, a fourth, falls the agreeable task of offering you my warmest congratulations on the great success which has attended your first twenty-five years of existence; and of giving you good wishes for the future. I do so on behalf of all India, which has greatly benefited from your labours. I rejoice to see the increase in your membership, which has now risen to nearly 3,000; I hope it will continue to rise.

India has owed much in the past to the skill and devotion of engineers. In the present, she has a greater need than ever of their services, to further that wide development of her agricultural, industrial and economic progress which it is within her power to make. Such general progress requires scientific planning; and it is here that your Institution, which deals with all branches of engineering, seems well fitted to make its contribution.

The comprehensive sweep of your survey over engineering projects was brought home to me when I looked through a recent number of your Journal. The first article dealt with the homely but pregnant question of wheel-wobble in bullock carts; that came within even my poor understanding of mechanism; I could gather that if the writer's ideas were carried out, the bullock-cart driver would be enabled to enjoy even profounder slumber during his journeys. But the next article, on the Hardinge Bridge over the Ganges, contained many pages of intricate mathematical formulæ, which I turned hurriedly over, with a slight schoolroom shudder. Then came articles on road development, on the maintenance of railway track, on the engineer's duty towards economic development, and on irrigation. Your outlook is certainly a catholic one.

I am interested, in an unscientific and haphazard way, in the meaning and derivation of words; and while I was preparing this address I turned to the dictionary to confirm my impression that the words engine and engineers were connected in origin with the Latin word *ingenium*=skill, cleverness—and with genius. I found that this was so, and also that at the basic root of all these words was a verb, of Sanskrit origin perhaps, meaning to produce. So that an engineer is by derivation one who constructs or creates with skill and ingenuity.

I was a little surprised, I must confess, to find in this dictionary that the first definition of an engineer was "one who designs and constructs military works". I suppose it is unfortunately true that the original use of engineering skill was mainly for warlike purposes; and that much engineering effort is still so directed. In this country during the recent war, engineers accomplished some remarkable work, with limited resources, in constructing airfields and strategic roads at high speed when we were threatened by the entry of Japan into the war. As Commander-in-Chief, I was most grateful to them.

The definition of a civil engineer in this same dictionary was "one who designs works of public utility, bridges, canals gasworks, etc." Fortunately, for the scenery at all events, India is not much given to gasworks, but in canals and bridges she is at the head of the list. It is up to Indian engineers to maintain their supremacy in these branches, and to develop all types of engineering to the utmost. There is great need for the establishment of more training schools and colleges for engineers and for the encouragement in every way of the technical skill which India requires for her development. There is no lack of ability if opportunity offers.

There is also great need for Research Institutes, so that India may not be dependent on discoveries made abroad and can make her own researches into her particular problems, of which those dealing with water are the most urgent and vital. Besides the normal ones of irrigation, there are many special problems—water-logging, soil erosion, flood control, hydro-electric power—for which research is essential, and research which can only be effectively done in India. If any rich merchants in India, who have made money during the war—I am advised that there are some who have done so, in spite of all hardships and handicaps—are seeking for

a suitable means to expend those profits for the public good, I can think of no better object than the establishment of a Research Institute on India's water problems, on a really adequate scale. I was deeply impressed not long ago when I saw the immense destruction of valuable land in Bihar which has been caused by the vagaries of the Kosi river, which is still uncontrolled and still encroaching on rich fields. I have seen, too, some of the water-logged lands of the Punjab, some of the damage caused by the Damodar river, some of the waste caused by erosion, some deserts which might yield rich crops if we could use the water which now causes destruction by flood or pours itself unprofitably into some ocean. These are Indian problems for which there should be a Research Institution planned with lavish imagination. I commend the idea to all those who have the future prosperity of India at heart.

Will you now allow me to say a few words about the first great engineer who came to my notice? He lived more than 2,000 years ago; and attracted my youthful attention over 50 years ago by a sentence on page 8 of my first Latin Grammar. I can, by some curious trick of memory, recall the exact position on the page of the sentence. It ran as follows: "Archimedes, dum etiam in pulvere scribit, a milite occisus est"—Archimedes, while writing in the dust, was killed by a soldier. I have forgotten what **principle of** Latin Grammar the sentence illustrated, but I felt that there must be a story behind it. By the length of his high-sounding name, Archimedes must surely have been a person of importance: why should he have been writing in the dust and why should that have impelled a soldier to take such drastic action against him? I sought, with all the shyness of a small boy doing something quite unusual, information from one of my masters, and learnt a little about Archimedes, the first of the really great engineers. His chief claim to common publicity, the publicity of Hollywood and Fleet Street, comes from his having had a brain—wave in his bath—quite a good place for bright ideas—and having rushed into the street with shouts of "Eureka, eureka", while still dressed only for the bath. Whatever truth there may be in that story, there is no doubt about his mathematical and engineering ability; and it is of interest to India that he invented the first irrigation device, the famous "screw" of Archimedes. His death occurred at the capture of Syracuse by the Romans. Orders had been given to spare the famous engineer, but at the critical moment he became so absorbed in a mathematical or

engineering problem, that he started to work it out by drawing in the dust, and failed, I suppose, to pay attention to the soldier's demand for his identity card, or its old-time equivalent. What I was told of him so many years ago has always remained in my memory—as typical perhaps of the scientific mind's absorption in abstract problems and the tendency of the military occasionally to be a little overhasty with the civilian.

You engineers are fortunate in several ways: you can see concrete evidence of what you have done—sometimes, perhaps, too concrete in these utilitarian days; you know that what you have made is of benefit to mankind; and you are entitled to do what we would nearly all like to do occasionally, to dam and blast, without public reproach, indeed in the public interest and at public expense. These are some of your blessings, but you have also hard trials and struggles, many of them against that stern mistress, Nature herself. May you enjoy and profit by your blessings; and may you enjoy and profit also by your struggles, as all true men should do.

One last word, be as kindly as you can to Nature and disfigure her as little as possible. Public works should not be inconsistent with beauty of design. Whenever I walk or drive over Westminster Bridge, I look downstream at the next two bridges—Charing Cross Bridge and Waterloo Bridge. Rennie's graceful Waterloo Bridge, which was a pleasure to the eye, has been replaced by a new bridge, in which simple strength gives beauty; of Charing Cross Bridge perhaps the most charitable thing to say is that it must have been designed by a gasworks engineer.

Gentlemen, I congratulate you on your Silver Jubilee, on all the progress you have made since your foundation. I wish you full success in your tasks ahead, the aim of all which must be to make India great, prosperous and contented. May your Golden Jubilee, when it comes, be golden indeed.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE DISTRICT
AGRICULTURAL AND CATTLE SHOW AT SANAND
(AHMEDABAD) ON THE 8TH JANUARY 1946.

I thank you for your welcome. I have long looked forward to a visit to this part of India, celebrated by its history, its fertility, and the enterprise of its inhabitants. I am very glad that my visit should have coincided with

this Agricultural and Cattle Show and should have given me the opportunity to see so much of your rural economy in a short time.

There can be nothing more valuable to India than well-run shows of this kind. India depends for existence on her agriculture and her cattle; and anything that assists in their improvement, as such shows do, is of inestimable benefit. Now that the war is happily over, we must do our utmost to secure the economic progress of India, and especially rural progress, since the people of India are still almost entirely rural, fortunately for themselves, as I think. It is surely pleasanter to live in villages than in towns, to work in fields than to toil in factories. But we must make rural life healthier and more attractive, build better villages and improve agriculture in every way. I am very glad to know that this Show includes an exhibition of village uplift—better houses, better sanitation, better agricultural implements.

I am interested in cattle, though I have no expert knowledge of them. Fine cattle are very satisfying to the eye and soothing to the mind. I see many magnificent animals in India, but I see also unfortunately very many, far too many, wretched ones. You must take steps to see that your lean kine do not eat up your fat kine, as they did in Pharaoh's dream that Joseph won a fortune by interpreting.

I congratulate all those concerned in arranging this Show, which I will now declare open, and am greatly looking forward to seeing the exhibits.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE NEW STADIUM OF THE MAHARASHTRA CRICKET CLUB, POONA, ON THURSDAY, THE 10TH JANUARY 1946.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your welcome. It gives me great pleasure to be here today to lay the corner-stone of your Sports Club and Stadium. I have lately laid several foundation-stones of hospitals and of institutions whose object was the healing of the body. The object of your Club is the bracing exercise of the body and of the mind, so that they will need no healing, let us hope.

Your scheme is a beneficial one, conceived on an ambitious scale, as such schemes should be. I wish it all

the success it deserves. You have a good site here and you have in Poona and its neighbourhood any number of prospective members of the right type. The characteristics of the Mahratta people—a lively, wiry, enduring race—should produce fine athletes. India has already a wide reputation for skill in many forms of sport, and also, which is more valuable still, for good sportsmanship.

Sport has nowadays become in many ways so highly specialized, so competitive in spirit, and so international in outlook, that there seems sometimes a danger that we may lose sight of the true aims of sport, of the true character of the sportsman. The first object of all sport must surely be to encourage the many to take part in healthy recreation, whatever their standard of ability, rather than to exhibit the skill of a few chosen players.

Kipling roused the indignation of the British public many years ago by writing of "the flannelled fools at the wicket and the muddled oafs at the goals". The playing of games may not always require much brain-power, though you will find that in any game the outstanding players are those who use their heads as well as their hands and feet; but it is very definitely a test and trial of character, of the quality which is called sportsmanship. The sportsman is one who plays the game for the enjoyment of it and not to show off his own proficiency; who plays for his side and not for himself: who never loses either his temper or his courage; who is modest in victory and generous in defeat. So long as sport promotes those ideals, so long as it keeps the body exercised and the mind refreshed, it cannot but be beneficial to the individual and to the nation.

I will end by two short quotations on the spirit in which games should be played. The first was written on golf, which has become, with my advancing years, my principal game. "Golf is a contest calling for courage, skill, strategy and self-control. It is a test of temper, a trial of honour, a revealer of character. It is a cure for care, an antidote to worry. It includes companionship with friends, opportunities for courtesy, kindness and generosity to an opponent. It promotes not only physical health but moral force." That was written, as some of you might possibly have guessed, by a Scotsman, a golfer and a citizen of St. Andrews.

The other is the pledge laid on members of a famous cricket club;—it is short and simple: "Keep your promise, keep your temper, keep your wicket up." Honour, self-

control, steadfastness, in fact—three qualities as valuable for a good citizen as for a god cricketer.

I congratulate the Maharashtra Club on its past achievements; and I wish it all success in the future.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE SESSION OF CHAMBER OF PRINCES ON 17TH JANUARY 1946 AT NEW DELHI.

I take particular pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses to this twentieth session of the Chamber of Princes, since this is the first occasion on which I have the honour to preside over your deliberations.

Since Your Highnesses last met, there have been changes in the offices of Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber. It is now nearly two years since His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal was elected Chancellor and during that period he has never rested from his activities on behalf of the States. Your Highnesses have recognised this by indicating your desire that His Highness should continue in office for a second term and I am confident that events will prove the wisdom of your action. I must also pay tribute to the great services rendered to this Chamber and to the country by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, whose period of office as Pro-Chancellor will shortly terminate and who has felt unable to agree to continue in office for a further period. For more than eight years—throughout the whole length of the war—His Highness has held continuously the office of Chancellor or Pro-Chancellor. I am sure that we are all indeed grateful to him for his long term of work on behalf of the States and of India.

Death has occasioned several changes in Your Highnesses' Chamber since it last met; and we have to mourn the loss of Their late Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Nawab of Balasinor, the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Raja of Talcher and the Raja of Sarangarh. In addition to these members of the Chamber, a member of its representative electorate—the Rana of Kumharsain—has also died.

The successions of several members of the Chamber have been recognised since the last session—those of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Cochin, the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior), the Maharaja of Gondal, the Maharawal of Banswara, the Nawab of Balasinor and the Maharao

Raja of Bundi, while the Raja of Kanker, the Raja of Gangpur and the Raja of Chamba have been invested with ruling powers during the period. Your Highnesses will, I know, join with me in welcoming these Rulers to the Chamber.

There has been no more eventful period in history than the two years which have passed since last this Chamber met. At that time the war was still being waged both in the east and the west with unparalleled fury. In the east, although the Allied armies and Navies were beginning to make headway against the Japanese, Japanese forces were in possession of Burma and even of part of Indian territory; in Italy a determined opposition was being put up by the German armies and very heavy fighting was in progress; the landings of Allied troops in France had yet to take place and the whole country was still in the occupation of the enemy. Yet within two years the enemies' armies were routed, their navies surrendered or sunk, their air fleets destroyed, and their countries occupied by Allied forces. The most powerful factors in these splendid achievements have been the steadfastness of the Allied nations and the prowess of their fighting forces. In that steadfastness and prowess the Indian States have a proud share. Throughout those difficult years when we were exposed, unprepared, to the first furious onslaught of the enemy, and during the dark days of 1942, when it seemed that India herself might be invaded and the faith of some began to fail and grow dim, the States without exception kept their loyalty to the causes for which we fought—

“unmoved, unshaken,
unseduced, unterrified”,

a circumstance of which Your Highnesses and your peoples have every reason to be proud. The record of the Indian States Forces and the many State subjects who joined the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Indian Air Force was equally worthy of admiration. I wish that I could speak in detail of the part played by individual units of the States Forces in the various theatres of war; but the time at my disposal makes this impossible, and I can only say that in the fighting in Africa, in Italy, in the Mediterranean and on the eastern frontier of India they distinguished themselves by their valour and endurance. In the Indian Army five V.Cs. were won by subjects of Indian States. Your Highnesses yourselves set a worthy example to your peoples. Three of your number—His Highness of Bundi, His Highness of Dewas (Senior) and

His Highness of Cooch Behar—took part in active operations against the enemy, and I congratulate His Highness of Bundi on being awarded the Military Cross for gallantry. Other Rulers paid visits to the troops at the front, who received much encouragement from their presence amongst them. One State, Manipur, was actually invaded and heavy fighting took place within its boundaries. During that trying ordeal the people of the State, under His Highness the Maharaja who remained in his capital even when it was seriously threatened by the enemy, behaved with exemplary steadfastness. The States were also associated with the planning and organisation of the war; since the Chamber last met His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir was one of India's two representatives in the War Cabinet at an important period; and during an earlier period of the war His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib occupied a similar position. Needless to say, both filled these posts with distinction, and with advantage to India.

The part played by the States during the war not only does them great credit but should also be an inspiration to meet the many and great difficulties with which we shall have to contend in the early years of peace. Most important of the problems with which India is faced is her future constitution, on the satisfactory solution of which will depend the happiness and prosperity of her people for many future years. With this problem the States are no less concerned than is British India.

Your Highnesses, this leads me to a subject to which I know well you all attach the greatest importance—that of your relationship with the Crown and the rights guaranteed by your treaties and engagements. I can assure you that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent. I am confident that Your Highnesses will through your accredited representatives take your full share in the preliminary discussions, which were announced in my broadcast of the 19th September, as well as in the intended constitution-making body; and that your consent to any changes which emerge as a result of these negotiations will not unreasonably be withheld. I am also confident that in your approach to these problems you will have no intention or desire to stand in the way of the growth of India to its full stature or to hinder the political, economic or social progress and advancement of your subjects. It will rather be natural and in accordance with your traditions that you

should become leaders in peace, as you have formerly been in war.

The record of some States in the art of civil government is already most distinguished. In no part of India is administration more efficient. are industries better organised and the welfare of the people better secured than in some of the States. That such a claim cannot be made on behalf of all States, Your Highnesses will doubtless not contest: that it cannot be made on behalf of the small States is largely due to the fact that their resources are insufficient to meet the cost of a modern administration. Although inadequate finance is a misfortune for which, in itself, the Darbars concerned are not responsible, it is, I suggest, incumbent upon them so to modify the constitutional position of their States as to ensure the welfare of their subjects for the future. To achieve this three conditions are necessary. Every State should possess political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people with the administration. If a State cannot fulfil these conditions, I strongly urge that it should arrange to do so either by joining a larger unit or by combining with other small States to form a political entity of a sufficient size. I am convinced that only by this means will the small States be able to keep abreast of progress in other parts of India, and I therefore trust that they will not withhold their consent to such modifications of their relations with the Crown as present circumstances and future requirements demand, with any expectation that, by so doing, they may be able to perpetuate conditions which are out of date.

Although these suggestions primarily concerned the small States, they are, I believe, of importance to all Your Highnesses, who must naturally be concerned to assist the smaller States to solve their particular problems with success.

Though constitutional problems are the most important with which India is at present confronted, there are others which demand the most careful consideration. Some of these—such as the control of prices and of the distribution of consumer goods—have been created by war conditions and will pass away with those conditions: others—such as the resettlement of demobilised soldiers, sailors and airmen and the planning of the country's food supply—though occasioned by the war will continue to exercise a considerable influence in the future: others again, such as the

reconstruction of industry and the development of electric power and of the means of transport, are of permanent importance. I should like to say a few words about the financial background against which these problems must be viewed.

The war involved a vast expenditure of rupee currency in India and a great reduction in the supply of goods available for civil consumption. To check the inflationary effect of these conditions it was necessary to take various measures in which, as Your Highnesses know, the States were asked to co-operate. Some of these measures, such as high taxation and an intensified savings campaign, were designed to secure a reduction in purchasing power: the purpose of others was to increase the quantity of goods for sale. Control over capital issues and forward contracting was introduced as a check on speculation; and, finally, the distribution of essential commodities was made as equitable as possible by price and similar controls. With the end of the war the situation has somewhat changed, for, though there is still the possible danger of inflation, a period of temporary deflation may be caused by the rapid release of service personnel and war workers. To guard against these conflicting dangers action is being taken in British India, on the one hand, to embark on an urgent programme of public works, particularly those which give employment to large numbers and add to the national wealth; and, on the other, to maintain a relatively high level of taxation and to encourage public saving. I commend to Your Highnesses the adoption of similar measures in the States.

Your Highnesses, I do not think it necessary that I should deal at any length with all the economic problems which face India at the moment. They are well-known to Your Highnesses, and I have spoken on them elsewhere. The main point which I wish to make is this: that it is my earnest aim and will be my constant endeavour that the interests of the States should receive the same attention and sympathy from the Government of India in the process of development as the Provinces of British India. I am also sure that the States will afford that same measure of cordial co-operation in controls and in planning as they have given in the past.

Your Highnesses are aware that I have discussed with your representatives on more than one occasion the best means of improving consultation between the Government

of India and the States on matters of common economic interest, and of seeing that the interests of the States are not overlooked. I hope that we have been able to do something towards establishing closer relations; but I am by no means content with what has been done, and have under consideration further machinery to improve economic touch between British India and the States. I welcome the steps Your Highnesses have taken to strengthen the Secretariat of the Chamber; and the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed as Adviser is, I am sure, a wise one. I shall always be ready to consult with the Chancellor and his Advisers on this question of economic progress.

I invite your attention to two particular examples of the need for close co-operation—one short term, one long term. The short-term instance is that of food-grains; for some time to come world allocations will continue to be made by the Combined Food Board in Washington, and India will have to justify her demand for a share in world surpluses by showing that she is making the best possible distribution of her own resources. In this the produce of British India and the States must be treated as one.

The long-term instance I will give you is the management of India's water supplies, in which direction lies India's best way to progress. In many of the schemes now under consideration, for flood control, for irrigation, for navigation, for hydro-electric power, Provinces of British India and States are closely concerned and it is essential that they should work in close co-operation, so that unified development can take place.

I have no doubt that Your Highnesses are aware of the importance of building up your revenue resources with a view to financing the large expenditure which will inevitably be necessary not only for further economic development but also for the provision of expanding services in the social sphere such as education, medical relief and public health. The latter forms of development must necessarily depend on revenue resources and not on borrowings. In this connection, I need not emphasise the importance of gradually approximating your taxation policies and systems with those of British India. I am glad to learn that this matter is already engaging Your Highnesses' attention.

Your Highnesses, I have briefly reviewed some of the constitutional, political and economic problems with which we are confronted at this time when the war is but recently

over and peace barely established. Those problems form part of the complex and difficult situation in which Your Highnesses will shortly be called upon to make decisions, upon the wisdom of which will depend the prosperity of yourselves and your peoples for many years to come. Indian States have had an honourable past: many of them have histories extending over centuries. If Your Highnesses make such adjustments as are necessary to meet the changing circumstances of the present day, there is every reason to believe that they will play a leading part in the future of India. For myself I have no doubt that this will be so, for I am confident that Your Highnesses will bring to the solution of the problems which confront you that same courage and determination which distinguished your conduct during the war.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON 28TH JANUARY 1946.

I have not come here to make any novel or striking political announcement, simply to meet the newly-chosen representatives of India, and to speak to you a few words of welcome and encouragement.

The intentions of His Majesty's Government have, I think, been made sufficiently clear. They have a determination to establish a new Executive Council formed from the political leaders; and to bring about a Constitution-making Body or Convention as soon as possible. I cannot enter into any details at the moment of the methods by which these bodies will be formed and how the difficulties, of which we are all fully conscious, will be surmounted. Nor do I think it wise to try to set a date or dates for steps to India's freedom. I can only assure you that they have a priority label both in Delhi and Whitehall. I ask you for your co-operation and goodwill in our great task.

In this session you have already debated on adjournment motions some of the pressing questions of the day. Proposals for legislation will be put before you by Government spokesmen. These include some important measures which are the result of most careful deliberation; and which I think will, if passed by the Legislature, advance the credit and welfare of India. I do not speak with any intention of influencing your votes. It may be that you will think it right, some of you, to vote against the Government

on almost every issue and to inflict the maximum number of defeats. If you believe that this is your political duty I have nothing to say; I may think that it will be a short-sighted policy to prevent or delay legislation that is likely to be of real benefit to India; but that is for you to decide.

I do claim, however, that you should not, in the course of the debates in this House during this session, say anything which may reduce the chances of my forming a political Executive Council, affect adversely the prospect of a settlement on the main constitutional issues, or increase the bitterness already abroad in the country. Enough, and more than enough, animosity has been caused during the elections to the Central Assembly; and the Provincial elections are likely to have the same effect. It would be a great help to me, and I think to the leaders of your parties, if moderation could be studied in all speeches here during this session.

I hope and believe that the period of destructive work in the Assembly is near an end. If I am successful in forming a new Executive Council with the support of the principal parties, you will have a very great deal of most important constructive work to put in at your next session. Legislation by ordinance is not at all to my taste: and I very much hope that you will then relieve me of the necessity to use my powers, even though it may involve long sittings to get through all the proposals put before you.

I think the Parliamentary Delegation have received a very general welcome to India and that they have impressed those who have met them with their earnestness and sincerity, and of the general desire in Great Britain to achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement. I am sure that they have made it quite clear that their purpose is not to delay the programme of His Majesty's Government, but to inform themselves, and thus their parties, of present conditions and opinions in India.

At the moment all our minds are inevitably concentrated on the great political issues shortly to be decided. Some of you may alternate between ardent hopes and chilling fears. I for my part am firmly optimistic, believing in an old and homely proverb: "Where there's a will there's a way."

But while the political issues are discussed, the administration of India has to go on, the people have to be fed, clothed and housed in the best way that our resources

permit. law and order have to be maintained, plans for development must be prepared, vital decisions affecting India's whole economic future have to be taken. My much maligned colleagues have served India well and have had her true interests at heart; I believe that any new Government is likely to adopt many of their ideas. They are all, without exception, ready and willing to hand over their responsibilities at the earliest moment to their successors, to whom they will wish good fortune and godspeed in their difficult but vital task.

Gentlemen, it only remains for me to give you my good wishes for your work in this momentous Assembly. On you rests a great responsibility for the freedom and greatness of India. I would say this to you in conclusion and say it with all the conviction at my command: that in all great constitutional changes success has been achieved only by a spirit of mutual understanding and concession between the parties concerned.

BROADCAST SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AT
NEW DELHI ON SATURDAY, THE 16TH FEBRUARY 1946.

I am going to speak to you on what is literally a vital matter—the food situation. India is faced with a very serious shortage of food. On top of serious damage caused to some of our best rice-growing lands by a cyclone last October, there has been a complete failure of the north-east monsoon in Southern India, and a failure of the winter rains in the wheat lands of the north.

I would like at once to contradict flatly any rumours that our troubles are due to exports of food. Our only export has been a quantity of ground-nuts, which we could not ourselves mill or readily consume, and were urgently required elsewhere.

We are some 3 million tons short of our requirements and the world shortage of foodgrains is such that we cannot hope for imports of this magnitude. We have sent a delegation which will press our claims for imports in London and Washington. We think we are entitled to outside assistance and we shall leave no stone unturned to obtain it, but the world shortage is a reality, we are by no means the only country threatened with famine, and there is a limit to the amount of help that will be forthcoming. We have got to do our utmost to help ourselves.

As you know, I have been recently to see for myself some of the drought-stricken lands in the south. There are very wide areas where there are no crops at all and no possibility of crops for a long time to come. The people who live there will starve unless grain can be found for them. It is the poorest and the weakest who will suffer most. We can save them and must save them. To do it, we others, in more fortunate circumstances, in more fortunate parts of India, must make some sacrifice of our comfort and must spare part of our food for them.

We cannot unfortunately in a crisis of this sort make the sacrifice proportionate to the means. The man ten times as rich as another cannot cut ten times as much off his daily ration. But he can help in other ways, as I will explain later.

There are two plans that have been proposed to me to deal with this crisis. One was that we should maintain our present basic ration of 1 lb. a head, which is, heaven knows, already small enough, for as long as the supplies in sight will last, and trust to receiving sufficient additional imports from abroad to maintain that ration throughout the year. I am quite sure that in view of the general situation such a plan would involve grave risk of disaster. The other method proposed is to cut our consumption *now* and make sure that our deficit is spread over the whole year and over the whole country.

There is no doubt which advice is sound and we have decided to adopt the second alternative. The basic cereal ration all over British India (and I am quite confident that the States will co-operate and follow suit) must be cut to 12 ounces, with 4 ounces more for the heavy manual labourer. I entirely appreciate that this is an inadequate ration, but it is all that our present resources will allow. If we get additional resources that will enable us to increase this ration we shall certainly do so. But it is all that we can safely afford at present.

I come to what we can all do and should do to carry us through this crisis. The main administrative requirements are: the widest possible extension of rationing; the procurement of all surplus grains all over India; and the proper distribution of this surplus to areas in need. The greatest dangers are: greedy and selfish people, who will try to get more than their fair share by hoarding, black-marketing or corruption; faint-hearted people, who may start rumours and cause panic or loss of confidence, thus

giving the black-marketers their opportunity; and idle people, who have enough for themselves and do not see why they should do anything to help others.

Now what can each of us do to play our part for India. I will tell you a few important things, there are others you will think of for yourself.

I hope every landlord and cultivator will cut down his consumption of grain and send to the market or place in the hands of the Government every maund beyond his minimum requirements.

I hope that everyone who can will grow as much additional food as possible, wherever possible, whenever possible; vegetables, potatoes, sweet potatoes will all be valuable.

I appeal most strongly to the well-to-do to make a real sacrifice, to cut out extravagant entertaining, to limit their consumption of bread, flour, cake, biscuits or rice to the absolute minimum. Every little will help. The cereal ration is usually all that a man in the scarcity areas, and the poor man in the towns, has to eat, while the rich have many alternatives and additions—meat, fish, vegetables, fruit and so on.

There will be some of you who will wish to take a more active part in meeting the danger—by organising canteens or medical units or by other voluntary work. I would ask you to get into touch with local Governments and see whether such aid is required and where.

I hope that everyone will give fair play to the food administration, Central and Provincial. I do not claim that our food administration is in any way perfect, but I do claim that it has done a fine job of work in the last two years in organising our food supply, and is doing it now in meeting our present trouble. I am responsible as Governor-General for the central Food Department and fully accept that responsibility. I have seen the measures which the Madras, Bombay and Mysore Governments are taking to meet their very difficult problems and I think they are doing admirably. Food must not be a matter for party politics, to make it so would frankly be folly at this time. A lead in that matter has been given to the country by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah, and that lead must be followed.

Let us meet this crisis together and share our sacrifices as equally as we can. If we do, I am confident that we

can get through 1946 without disaster. May I in conclusion tell you, as one who has faced a good many grim-looking situations in the last six years or so, that they seldom turn out anything like as bad as they look, if you meet them squarely and fairly and do your best, with determination and commonsense.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE YADAVINDRA SOLDIERS CLUB AT PATIALA ON 22ND
FEBRUARY 1946.

Your Highness,—I thank Your Highness very much for the welcome which you have given to Lady Wavell and myself, and for the kind words which you have used about us. It does indeed give me much pleasure to visit this famous State, and I am particularly glad to be able today to perform the opening ceremony of this Club, which will give an opportunity for the comradeship formed in war to continue in the days of peace. I have every reason to agree entirely with what Your Highness has said about the glorious share which the Indian Army has played in achieving victory over our enemies; and you may well feel proud of the part which Patiala troops have taken in that victory. It is very right and fitting that Your Highness should have expended so much time and care on schemes for the benefit of your old soldiers. I am glad to hear of your proposal to use the training and the new standards which these men have acquired during their service, to benefit village life in your State and to bring about improvement both in agriculture and in living conditions. I wish all success to your model villages. I am glad, too, to hear how the disabled will be cared for. They are all too often forgotten after a war.

Patiala has spared no effort or money to fulfil the declaration which Your Highness made at the beginning of the war when you placed the entire resources of your State at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Your Highness' own war record is outstanding even among those many Princes whose efforts have been so notable. By your visits to troops in the Middle East and in Malaya, as well as throughout India, you have striven greatly and successfully to maintain the morale and reputation of your men. I thank Your Highness for all you have done. Over 65,000 recruits were enlisted from Patiala State, and the record of the various units, in particular the 1st Patiala Infantry, has

been equalled by few in the Indian Army; to have won three out of the seven V.Cs. awarded to States' Forces, and in addition a generous proportion of other honours and distinctions is an achievement on which I offer my most sincere congratulations.

I echo your hope that there may be a constitutional settlement soon in this great country; and I am confident that a great future can be built on the foundations which Patiala, by its achievements in the war, has helped to lay.

Patiala has already shown since the end of the war that it can distinguish itself no less in peace. I congratulate Your Highness on the victory of your team in the All-India Olympic Sports at Bangalore. I had the pleasure of watching some of their performances when I visited the sports for a short time one evening. I am sure the Yadavindra Soldiers Club will encourage that good fellowship and sportsmanship which Olympic sports are designed to foster.

I have much pleasure in declaring open the Yadavindra Soldiers Club.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE ART EXHIBITION AT NEW DELHI ON MARCH 1ST.
1946.

You have come here to see pictures and not to listen to speeches and I have no intention of detaining you. I think however that you will find this a most interesting exhibition. It is a great achievement of the organisers to have obtained pictures by artists of international repute from France and England which you can compare with contemporary pictures from this country.

I think everyone is agreed that the time has come to give active encouragement to young artists in order that India's art may be developed and flourish. The Government of India have recently decided that the Department of Information and Broadcasting should become the Department of Information and Arts; though artistic effort should be fostered mainly by private enterprise, it is believed that Government can do something to encourage it without attempting to control or interfere with the natural development of any branch of art.

I have much pleasure in declaring the exhibition open. I hope it will be seen and appreciated by many people.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE REMEMBRANCE CEREMONY AT THE WAR MEMORIAL ARCH ON THE 4TH MARCH 1946.

At the beginning of Victory Week in Delhi, during which we celebrate the end of the most widespread and devastating of all wars, our first duty is to pay tribute to those who gave their lives to make our victory possible.

We stand at a memorial dedicated to 114,000 British and Indian soldiers who fell in the first world war. The names of 13,500 of these, who have no known graves, are inscribed on this arch. We are now assembled to honour another 28,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen, who have given their lives in the defence of India. Twice in the space of a single generation has one powerful nation, Germany, sought with overweening ambition to dominate the world: and we have had to make these grievous sacrifices of our young men to repulse that challenge. But for them India would have suffered invasion and domination by a ruthless and predatory foe, the Japanese.

Those who fall in war are inevitably drawn from the prime manhood of a nation, the most intrepid, the most vigorous, the most patriotic, the most devoted. The brave men whose loss we mourn here were of our best.

Very many years ago a clear-sighted Roman poet wrote that "the folly of rulers is paid for by the fighting-men". That is still true today. It is too often the business of us soldiers to redeem with our blood the mistakes of our leaders in peace. It is a hard fate but it is a man's fate. Perhaps some day, in some better world to come, there will be no more wars and no more soldiers. Till then the foundation of all peace and of all progress can be assured only by the spirit of a nation's young men and their readiness to sacrifice to the defence of their country their ease, their leisure, and if need be, their lives. The greatness and the safety of all nations is founded on the soldier's toil and the soldier's sacrifice.

India's warriors have now made safe for many years to come, we hope, the foundations on which India's greatness may be built; and those foundations will shortly, we trust, be well and truly laid. Let us here determine that the peace and opportunity which has been won by India's fighting men shall not be soiled or squandered by internal strife.

The Indian Forces have indeed won much honour in this war. It would take too much time to recount here all their exploits, to proclaim to you all their glory. The mere tale of battlefields and victories is a long one. I will mention only a few among many: Sidi Barrani; El Alamein; Tripoli in North Africa; Keren in Eritrea; Amba Alagi in Abyssinia; Monte Cassino and the river Sangro in Italy; Kohima and Imphal in Manipur; Mandalay and Rangoon in Burma. These are some of the names which you and your children and your children's children will remember down the years as the achievements of Indian prowess. On the naval side, the epic fight of the Bengal against two larger and more heavily-armed Japanese vessels, and the handling of the landing-craft at Ramree and elsewhere in Burma have rightly won for the R.I.N. the admiration of the Royal Navy. The performances of the R.I.A.F. in Burma showed that the Indians are as doughty fighters in the air as on land or sea.

The highest award for valour, the Victoria Cross, has been won by 31 members of the Indian Army in this war. The tales of the heroism of these men will be your inspiration for ever. Who can forget the matchless courage of that leader in the storming against odds of a desperate height, who with one foot blown off and other grievous wounds, still waved on and encouraged his men with his last words: "We must capture the objective"? Who does not take pride in the unflinching self-sacrifice of that commander of a post who died in its defence driving back an attack with the cry "Jats and Mohammedans, there must be no withdrawal, advance"? Who will not admire the astonishing bravery of that soldier who when he received a mortal sword-thrust in his chest, drew out the weapon, slew with it the Japanese officer who had wounded him, and led his platoon to success waving the captured sword, until he collapsed and died? Whose spirit does not quicken at the story of that artilleryman who defended his gun with such resolution that a counter-attack found him lying beside it with seven head wounds and ten of the Japanese enemy dead around him?

These are only a few instances taken from the records. For everyone of those who won the proud decoration there were many hundreds whose valour went unseen and unrewarded.

India's international stature has grown by the exploits of her soldiers. Besides their old and well-known comrades, the British, they have fought in close association with

Australians, Canadians, South Africans, East and West Africans, Americans, Chinese and many others. All these have seen and testified to their gallantry and steadfastness on the battlefield, to their discipline and comradeship in the camp. They have been proved and accepted as worthy of the highest place in the illustrious fraternity of true fighting men.

We have, however, more to do than to honour the names of the fallen. They have left families whose welfare must be our care. There are those also whose names will not be written here, whose fate is perhaps harder still, who have lost not life but the health which makes life worth living—the maimed, the blinded, the permanently crippled or invalided. They deserve and must receive our most generous attention. Of them, as of the dead, we may say, with pride, gratitude and sorrow: “for our tomorrow they gave their today”.

The men we commemorate here came from homes all over India, from all creeds and from all classes. Without distinction of home or creed or class, they fought and suffered and died in many lands; they fell in seeming disaster or in the triumph of victory. Our sorrow in their loss is tempered by our pride in their qualities: in their bravery, for these men were brave; in their endurance, for these men endured; in their bearing, for these men had the high carriage of warriors; in their chivalry in victory, for these men were generous and merciful; in their comradeship at all times, for these men thought of and fought for their comrades and not only for themselves. Their names will be written here. Their glory is imperishable.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION
GIVEN TO INDIAN V.Cs. AND THEIR FAMILIES BY HIS
HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA AT NEW DELHI
ON TUESDAY, THE 5TH MARCH 1946.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall make only a brief reply to His Highness' speech. We are all glad to be here to honour those who have won this great decoration, the most famous award for valour in the world. A measure of the supreme daring and bravery required to win it is afforded by the fact that of the 31 V.Cs. won by members of the Indian Army in this war, no fewer than 14, nearly half, were posthumous awards, won at the sacrifice of life itself; and I think that practically every wearer of the Cross must carry on him scars to remind him of his feat.

Your Highness has spoken some words of me this evening which I could wish were fully justified. I have had great troops to lead during my military service in this war, and the largest number of them have been Indian. I warmly welcome your tribute to their deeds, which have indeed fixed high the martial renown of India all over the world.

Your Highness has spoken of the military traditions of the Sikhs and of their great services in the war. They have indeed done splendidly and are entitled to a very full share in the glory that has been won by the fighting forces of India.

Now we must look forward to our next tasks, the even harder ones of peace. We want the same qualities of courage, steadiness and comradeship that our soldiers have shown, to assure India's greatness.

I thank Your Highness on behalf of us all for your hospitality this evening. It was a good inspiration to bring together these brave men during this Victory Week, and to give us the opportunity to thank them for their gallantry.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF
THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE JAIPUR MEDICAL
COLLEGE ON WEDNESDAY, THE 13TH MARCH 1946.

I am very please to be here today and to lay the foundation-stone of the Jaipur Medical College. I congratulate His Highness and the State on this beneficent undertaking, which is a very necessary and fitting complement to the series of medical institutions which have been founded here. It is a very worthy aim that this place should become the centre of medical teaching in Rajputana, and that a fully-equipped and well-staffed institution should be the means of training many hundreds of doctors. As your Director of Medical Services has so rightly emphasised, and as the Bhore Committee Report has recently shown, the lack of medical facilities in India is one of the major social deficiencies which need to be remedied. I had not realised until I came here that you already had so many specialist medical institutions: these will provide invaluable material for the students of this college; and the result will surely be an output of keen and skilful doctors.

I am sure that the personal interest of His Highness in this institution will mean that the standard which it sets out to establish will never be lowered; and that teaching and research will both be of a high order, so that the Jaipur Medical College may come to be known as one of the leading medical schools in India. It will certainly supply a much-felt want for this vast area of Rajputana. I wish all possible success to this great undertaking.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE ANNUAL
GENERAL MEETING OF THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY
AND THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION ON 29TH
MARCH 1946.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to welcome¹ here all the delegates who have come, many from great distances, to attend this meeting. Their presence is evidence that they recognise the importance of the Bodies which they represent, and the fine work they have done in the recent war.

There are three great organisations represented here: the Indian Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, and the Joint War Organisation which was formed from these two bodies—father, mother, and war-baby, so to speak; but the war-baby has grown into a very large, energetic, and rather independent child.

You have heard from Sir Patrick Spens, Sir Ganga Kaula and Sir Gordon Jolly an account of the work done by these organisations during the last year. All that I propose to do is to pay a tribute to some of those who have made such an outstanding contribution to this great work of mercy in time of war—it is obviously impossible to mention more than a few of the achievements of the organisations and of the workers—and to make a few remarks on their peace-time future.

Obviously the first persons to thank are the great body of subscribers and workers in India, who have so generously given in kind or in service to alleviate the sufferings and to increase the comfort of those who have fought in this war, and also of some of the civilians who have been victims of it. It is only the large numbers of those who have been willing to help and contribute which have made these benefits possible.

In Europe I would mention specially the workers of the Indian Comforts Fund, led by Mrs. Amery, who worked daily in London, Blitz or no Blitz, and brought comfort and life to so many by the despatch of Red Cross parcels to the Indian prisoners of war. The bulk of these parcels were paid for by the Indian Red Cross.

I should like to bring to notice the work parties all over India who. week in and week out during the war, worked for service hospitals, convalescent homes, and hospitalships. I hope that such work parties will continue their work in peace for the needs of both civil and military hospitals, though necessarily on a reduced scale. I suggest that the organisation of such work should be considered before the existing work parties disperse.

In the East, the brutal indifference of the Japanese prevented aid being provided to prisoners of war earlier, though the Indian Joint War Organisation did everything that was possible. They were able to bring immediate hope and relief after the Armistice by dropping Red Cross parcels from the air to prisoners' camps before the liberating troops could reach them. The Joint War Organisation also provided 200,000 garments for men, women and children, which were distributed to those who needed them in Malaya, Singapore and Siam. A lakh was also sent in cash for the relief of displaced Indians in Siam. I should mention here the tremendous energy and courage which Lady Louis Mountbatten displayed in visiting so many hospitals and prisoner of war camps during the period immediately after the Armistice, often at considerable risk.

I hope that you will all have noticed and will remember the fine example of goodwill and unity, which was shown at this period by the pooling in the South-East Asia Command of the resources of the Joint War Organisations of India and of the United Kingdom and of the Red Cross Society of Australia, to give the maximum benefit in the various areas. The co-operation with the Red Cross of the United States was also very close.

No work of the scale and value done by the societies could have been successful without efficiency and imagination at the top. We must remember the unfailing readiness of the Chairman and Office-bearers of the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association to co-operate with each other and with the Joint War Organisation, whose beginnings were so ably planned by

General Sir Bertrand Moberly, and so greatly expanded and developed by General Sir Gordon Jolly during his fruitful and energetic Chief Commissionership. In this he was faithfully assisted by the Regional Deputy and Assistant Commissioners of the Joint War Organisation both in India and overseas, by the Honorary Treasurers and Secretaries; and by all those who directed and organised the work in the Centre and in the Provinces; and above all, by the vast body of helpers who did the executive work, including 1,100 members of the Women's Voluntary Service of India who gave such valuable service in the hospitals. There are obviously many others who deserve a tribute by name and by achievement.

I must mention the magnificent gift by the British and Scottish Red Cross Societies of £110,000 which will be used for the benefit of the Indian members and *ex*-members of the armed forces. This generous sum was given as a tribute from the people of the United Kingdom to the gallantry of India's fighting men; it will be used for the after-care of the permanently disabled.

The war has for so long occupied our thoughts that it is inevitable that I should have spoken at some length about the work of the Joint War Organisation; but the two parent bodies—the Indian Red Cross and St. John Ambulance—have of course continued throughout the war to render the many valuable services which they have always rendered in peace-time. The distribution of milk, which is being done by the Indian Red Cross, and the work carried out in Eye Camps by the St. John workers, are excellent examples of this kind of service, and there are many others of great and increasing importance to the health of the country: maternity and child welfare schemes; training in nursing, first-aid, hygiene, etc. The success of this work has been due to those who have laboured to keep it going throughout the war when money and stores, always so badly needed, were being necessarily directed to the Joint War Organisation. I should like to mention the name of Sardar Bahadur Balwant Singh Puri who has done so much to keep the work of the peace-time organisations up to its usual standard in the face of great difficulties.

I am sure you will all have realised the additional strength that the Indian Red Cross and the St. John Ambulance Association have derived from working together.

during the war, and from having a central directing organisation. I feel that we must consider this lesson earnestly; and that if the Indian Red Cross and St. John Association wish to accomplish work on any large scale for the good of the Indian people in peace, as they have done in war, then some machinery to direct big schemes in a big way must exist—a nucleus of trained personnel to plan, develop and direct, so that the time of those who serve and the money of those who subscribe may be used to the best advantage for the good of this great country.

On the closure of the Joint War Organisation it is proposed to put its remaining assets into a Trust, and to use them for the benefit of those for whom the two Joint War Organisation appeals were made.

I will say no more, I feel how inadequate are any words I have said to render thanks for this great service to humanity, given in response to need and with no differentiation between races or ranks. Such service has made the Red Cross and St. John symbols of kindly human dealings between man and man, which I hope will continue in these disturbing days of peace. I do not think that there is any more hopeful sign of the possibilities of bringing together all nations in international co-operation in the future than the example of the great Red Cross Organisation, which is represented in all civilized countries and has such high ideals: ideals which are so closely in accord with the traditions of Indian life and teaching.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST MESSAGE ON FRIDAY, THE 17TH MAY 1946.

I speak to the people of India at the most critical hour of India's history. The Statement of the Cabinet Delegation containing their recommendations has now been before you for twenty-four hours. It is a blue-print for freedom, an outline of which your representatives have to fill in the details and construct the building.

You will have studied the Statement, most of you, and may perhaps already have formed your opinion on it. If you think that it shows a path to reach the summit at which you have been aiming for so long, the independence of India, I am sure you will be eager to take it. If you should have formed the view—I hope you have not—that

there is no passage that way, I hope that you will study again the route indicated to you, and see whether the difficulties in the path—and we know they are formidable—cannot be surmounted by skill and patience and boldness.

I can assure you of this, that very much hard work, very much earnest study, very much anxious thought, and all the goodwill and sincerity at our command have gone to the making of these recommendations. We would much have preferred that the Indian leaders should have themselves reached agreement on the course to be followed, and we have done our best to persuade them; but it has not been found possible, in spite of concessions on both sides which at one time promised results.

These proposals put before you are obviously not those that any one of the parties would have chosen if left to itself; but I do believe that they offer a reasonable and workable basis on which to found India's future constitution. They preserve the essential unity of India which is threatened by the dispute between the two major communities; and in especial they remove the danger of the disruption of that great fellowship the Indian Army, to which India already owes so much and on whose strength, unity and efficiency her future security will depend. They offer to the Muslim community the right to direct their own essential interests, their religion, their education, their culture, their economic and other concerns in their own way and to their own best advantage. To another great community, the Sikhs, they preserve the unity of their homeland, the Punjab, in which they have played and can still play so important and influential a part. They provide, in the Special Committee which forms a feature of the Constitution-making machinery, the best chance for the smaller minorities to make their needs known and to secure protection for their interests. They seek to arrange a means for the Indian States, great and small, to enter by negotiation into the polity of a united India. They offer to India the prospect of peace—a peace from party strife, the peace so needed for all the constructive work there is to do. And they give you the opportunity of complete independence so soon as the Constituent Assembly has completed its labours.

I would like to emphasize the constructive work to be done. If you can agree to accept the proposals in the Statement as a reasonable basis on which to work out your

Constitution, then we are able at once to concentrate all the best efforts and abilities in India on the short-term problems that are so urgent. You know them well—the immediate danger of famine to be countered, and measures taken to provide more food for everyone in future years; the health of India to be remedied; great schemes of wider education to be initiated; roads to be built and improved; and much else to be done to raise the standard of living of the common man. There are also great schemes in hand to control India's water supplies, to extend irrigation, to provide power, to prevent floods; there are factories to be built and new industries to be started; while in the outside world India has to take her place in international bodies, in which her representatives have already established a considerable reputation.

It is therefore my earnest desire that in these critical times ahead, in the Interim period while the new Constitution is being built, the Government of India should be in the hands of the ablest of India's leaders, men recognised as such by the Indian people, whom they will trust to further their interests and bring them to their goal.

As said in the Statement, I am charged with the responsibility to form such a Government as soon as possible, to direct the affairs of British India in the Interim period. There will be no doubt in the minds of anyone, I hope, how great a step forward this will be on India's road to self-government. It will be a purely Indian Government except for its head, the Governor-General; and will include, if I can get the men I want, recognised leaders of the main Indian parties, whose influence, ability and desire to serve India are unquestioned.

Such a Government must have a profound influence and power not only in India, but also in the outside world. Some of the best ability in India, which has hitherto been spent in opposition, can be harnessed to constructive work. These men can be the architects of the new India.

No constitution and no form of Government can work satisfactorily without goodwill; with goodwill and determination to succeed even an apparently illogical arrangement can be made to work. In the complex situation that faces us there are four main parties: the British; the two main parties in British India, Hindus and Muslims; and the Indian States. From all of them very considerable change of their present outlook will be required as a contribution

to the general good, if this great experiment is to succeed. To make concession in ideas and principles is a hard thing and not easily palatable. It requires some greatness of mind to recognise the necessity, much greatness of spirit to make the concession. I am sure that this will not be found wanting in India, as I think you will admit that it has not been found wanting in the British people in this offer.

I wonder whether you realise that this is the greatest and most momentous experiment in Government in the whole history of the world—a new Constitution to control the destiny of 400,000,000 people. A grave responsibility indeed on all of us who are privileged to assist in making it.

Lastly, I must emphasise the seriousness of the choice before you. It is the choice between peaceful construction or the disorder of civil strife, between co-operation or disunity, between ordered progress or confusion. I am sure you will not hesitate in your choice for co-operation.

May I end with some words which were quoted by one great man to another at a crisis of the late war, and may well be applied to India at this crisis:

“Thou too, sail on, O Ship of State,
Sail on, O Union, strong and great:
Humanity with all its fears
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.”

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST AT NEW DELHI
ON SATURDAY, THE 24TH AUGUST 1946.

You will have heard the announcement of the names of the members of the new Interim Government which will come into office very shortly. You will, I am sure, all realise that a very momentous step forward has been taken on India's road to freedom. Some of you who listen to me may feel, however, that the step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. It is to these that I want principally to address myself tonight.

You who are opposed to the formation of the new Government are not, I assume, opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government, namely, to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny.

You will also, I think, all agree that we need at once a Government of Indians as representative as possible of political opinion in the country. This is what I set out to secure: but though 5 seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing constitution, it has not been possible at present to secure a coalition. No one could be sorrier about the failure than I am. No one could be more sure that it is a Coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented that is needed at this moment in the interests of all parties and communities in India. This is a view which I know that the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his colleagues hold as strongly as I do. His efforts like mine will still be directed to persuading the League to join the Government.

Let me state clearly the offer which has been made and is still open to the Muslim League. They can propose to me five names for places in a Government of 14, of which 6 will be nominees of Congress and three will be representatives of the Minorities. Provided these names are acceptable to me and approved by His Majesty, they will be included in the Government, which will at once be reformed. The Muslim League need have no fear of being outvoted on any essential issue; a Coalition Government can only exist and function on the condition that both main parties to it are satisfied. I will see that the most important portfolios are equitably shared. I sincerely trust that the League will reconsider their policy and decide to participate in the Government.

Meanwhile, however, the administration of India has to go on, and there are large issues which must be decided. I am glad that the representatives of a very large body of political opinion in the country will be my colleagues in carrying on the government. I welcome them to my Council. I am also glad that the Sikhs have now decided to participate in the Constituent Assembly and in the Interim Government. I have no doubt that their decision is a wise one.

As I have already made clear, I shall implement fully His Majesty's Government's policy of giving the new Government the maximum freedom in the day-to-day

administration of the country. In the field of provincial autonomy, of course, the Provincial Governments have a very wide sphere of authority in which the Central Government cannot intervene. My new Government will not have any power or indeed any desire to trespass on the field of provincial administration.

The recent terrible occurrences in Calcutta have been a sobering reminder that a much greater measure of toleration is essential if India is to survive the transition to freedom. I appeal most earnestly not only to sober citizens but to the young and to the discontented to recognise that no conceivable good either to themselves or to their community or to India can come either from violent words or from violent deeds. It is essential that in all Provinces law and order is maintained, that the protection of the ordinary peaceable citizen is assured with a firm but impartial hand, and that no community is oppressed.

The Army had to be called in at Calcutta to restore order and rightly so. But I must remind you that to suppress civil disturbances is not the normal duty of the Army but that of the Provincial Governments. The use of the Army is a last resource only. A general recognition of this basic principle is essential both from the point of view of the civil population and of the Army itself. I have heard much praise of the discipline and efficiency of the troops employed in Calcutta; and will add here my own tribute of admiration to my own service, for their behaviour in a duty which is the most exacting and unpleasant on which troops can be employed.

The War Member in the new Government will be an Indian, and this is a change which both the Commander-in-Chief and I warmly welcome. But the constitutional position of the Armed Forces is in no way changed. They still owe allegiance, in accordance with their oath, to the King-Emperor, to whom and to Parliament I am still responsible.

In spite of all immediate appearances I believe there is yet a chance of agreement between the two principal parties. I am quite sure that there is a very large body of opinion in both parties and of non-party men who would welcome such an agreement, and I hope they will all work for it. I would appeal also to the Press to use its very great influence on the side of moderation and compromise.

Remember, the Interim Government can be reformed tomorrow if the League decide to come in. Meanwhile it will administer in the interests of the country as a whole and not of any one party or creed.

It is desirable also that the work of the Constituent Assembly should begin as early as possible. I can assure the Muslim League that the procedure laid down in the Statement of May 16th regarding the framing of Provincial and Group Constitutions will be faithfully adhered to; that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May or of a decision on a main communal issue, without a majority of both major communities; and that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. I sincerely trust that the Muslim League will reconsider their decision not to take part in a plan which promises to give them so wide a field in which to protect the interests and to decide the future of the Muslims of India.

We have come to another critical and solemn issue in the affairs of India. Never were tolerance and soberness in thought and action more necessary; never were the wild speaking and rash deeds of a few fraught with greater danger for so many millions. Now is the time for all Indians in any authority, with any influence, to show by their good sense and restraint that they are worthy of their country, and that their country is worthy of the freedom it is to receive.

BROADCAST SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AT
NEW DELHI ON 28TH OCTOBER 1946.

I have only a few words to say to you this evening but they come from the depths of my heart and of my conscience and they are on matters vital to India.

Firstly, I want to impress on you that with the formation of a Coalition Government India has taken another great stride forward on the road to freedom. It is my desire and hope that all elements in this Government shall work together in harmony, both in dealing with the present pressing problems of India, and in furthering the formation of a new Constitution which will enable the British Government to complete the transfer of power to India.

But India cannot go forward to her high destiny and we cannot devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the great work that lies ahead of us all, when our minds are filled with constant anxiety and apprehension. We desire, as I am sure does every man of goodwill, that freedom from fear of communal strife should become general throughout the length and breadth of India.

I ask therefore on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government, which wholeheartedly supports this appeal, that the communal strife, which now poisons the life and disfigures the fair name of India, should cease.

Let us not look backwards to old hatreds and injuries and recriminations, but forward to the prospect of a free, powerful and prosperous India.

NOTE FOR ADDRESS AT THE CONVOCATION OF THE DELHI UNIVERSITY ON 10TH JANUARY 1947.

I have no intention of making a speech to you. I do feel however that I cannot let this occasion pass without saying a very few words of welcome and thanks to the very many eminent scientists who have honoured this University by their presence at the 34th Session of the Indian Science Congress. It has been a very great occasion of instruction, encouragement, and pleasure not only to the Science Faculty of this University but to every other University in the country, and to India as a whole. The interest of India in scientific subjects has been testified by the many thousands of laymen who have been attracted by the lectures delivered at the Conference, and have had their interest in science quickened by the admirable discourses they have heard from masters of a subject.

I therefore offer you, as Chancellor of this University and as head of the Indian Government, our most grateful thanks for coming so many thousands of miles and for making such a very notable success of this Session of the Indian Science Congress.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO A FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE OF NEW DELHI ON THE 20TH MARCH 1947.

On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you most sincerely for your farewell address. We much appreciate the kind things you have said of our work in India and your good wishes for the future.

We have actually lived longer in New Delhi, at the Commander-in-Chief's and Viceroy's Houses, than anywhere else since we were married. We shall for this and for other reasons always have very lively recollections of Delhi, of its historical monuments, of its amenities, and of its people. We have been deeply interested in all these and have often wished that we had had more leisure to study and enjoy them. For myself, perhaps the greater proportion of such leisure as I have had in Delhi has been spent on your excellent golf-course at Lodi, to which you referred, and in riding ground the outskirts of the city in the early morning.

My morning rides have sometimes brought me in contact with your problems, as when the sudden appearance in my path of a deep trench and many pipes have called my attention to your problems of water-supply; or when I have seen new buildings growing up and realised the housing problem that confronted you. And on these rides I have always some architectural beauty of old buildings, or the horizon of New Delhi to admire. Even on Lodi golf-course some ancient tomb or the arresting outline of the Purana Kila have at times almost consoled me for a sliced drive or missed putt.

I can assure you that I have watched your problems with close interest, and as far as possible have seen them for myself. I have sympathised with the extent of them: the continual growth of the population has required more housing, more food, more water, more electricity. I congratulate you on the standards you have maintained in spite of difficulties and shortages, and especially on the success which has attended the campaign against Malaria.

One matter to which you referred when you gave me a message of welcome nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ago was the removal of temporary buildings. I told you then that I was in full sympathy with your desire to have them removed as soon as possible. I still am, but I fear that the temporary buildings have increased rather than diminished, and that the shortage of accommodation leaves no hope of their all being pulled down yet awhile. But I am sure that you must keep this object in view, and must clear the sites now occupied by these temporary hutments to put up buildings in keeping with the original plan.

You referred to the especial need of housing for nurses and teachers. This is a question in which Her Excellency

and myself have always been deeply interested and we hope that success will attend your efforts.

You are charged with the important duty of looking after the welfare of this great city, which is destined to be, if all goes well, the principal capital in Asia. I give you my very best wishes for the future. I know my distinguished successor will do all he can to assist you.

I thank you again for your good wishes.

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WAVELI'S BROADCAST TO INDIA ON 21ST MARCH 1947.

This is a short personal message to the people of India to say good-bye and farewell—God-be-with-you and fare-you-well, as those words mean. They come from my heart, for I owe much to India, where I have spent more than thirteen years of my life. As a child I played and grew for 2½ years in the Nilgiri hills, where the sun and air of a fine climate gave my body a good start in life. As a young subaltern I spent five years in northern India, and they were certainly some of the best years of my life. They were devoted perhaps more to sport than to hard work or to hard thinking; but I learnt the elements of my profession of soldiering in a land which has always bred fine soldiers. In those years I came closest to knowledge of the common Indian people. I learnt enough of the language to speak with the villagers where I camped and shot, with my *shikaris* in the hills of Kashmir, where I was several times alone with them for many weeks, and with the soldiers of India with whom I served. My first independent command on active service was a detachment of 33 Indian soldiers: a V.C.O., 8 Sikhs, 8 Punjabi Mussalmans, 8 Dogras, and 8 Pathans—all magnificent men. I also acted as Transport Officer to an Indian Mountain Battery for several weeks march; and a friend in the Royal Engineers used to allow me to come out sometimes with his Company of Madras Sappers and Miners. So that I left India with some knowledge of and a great affection for the Indian soldier and the Indian peasant.

During the two world wars it was my fortune to see much of the prowess of the Indian soldier, and to profit by it.

My last service in India has been the longest, 2 years as Commander-in-Chief and nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ years as Viceroy. They have been years of hard work and heavy responsibility. I shall be glad if I have during them done anything to repay to India my debt for the five years I enjoyed as a young man, and for the skill and gallantry of the Indian Army, which served under me through a number of campaigns, in success or failure, in good times or bad, but always with the valour and endurance of true warriors.

I am conscious of mistakes I have made in these years, but I hope you will know that I have always tried to work for the welfare of India's inhabitants and for the advancement of India to self-rule.

I am a soldier and my first words of farewell must be to the soldiers of India, in admiration and in gratitude. I believe that the stability of the Indian Army may perhaps be a deciding factor in the future of India. It has shown how all communities may work together to meet a common danger with comradeship and self-devotion.

To all those with whom I have worked in these last years, within the Government or without—Rulers of States, Ministers, Officials and Non-Officials—I give deep-felt thanks for their kindness, friendship and support. I would say a special word of gratitude and encouragement to the members of the Services, at the Centre and in the Provinces. I know and sympathise with their difficulties in these times of stress, I know to what strain they have been subjected and I know with what courage and hard work they have met them. They have been very devoted servants of India.

My successor is known to many of you personally and to all by reputation as a great leader in war and an ardent supporter of progress. I can assure you of his goodwill towards India and of his vigour in showing it.

You have hard, dangerous and difficult years ahead. But you will overcome them. I have always believed steadfastly in the future of India. I thank you and wish you good fortune. Good-bye, and may the world go well with you.

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